DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 473 802 CS 511 787

TITLE	Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (85th, Miami, Florida, August 5-8, 2002). Miscellaneous Divisions.
PUB DATE	2002-08-00
NOTE	516p.; For other sections of these proceedings, see CS 511 769-786.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF02/PC21 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Advertising; Broadcast Journalism; Case Studies; Course Evaluation; Disabilities; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Internet; Internship Programs; *Journalism Education; Marriage; Mass Media Effects; Media Coverage; Newspapers; Olympic Games; Portfolios (Background Materials); Presidential Campaigns (United States); Religion; *Scholastic Journalism; *Student Attitudes; Visual Arts
IDENTIFIERS	*Civic Journalism; Framing (Communication Behavior); South Korea; Television News

ABSTRACT

The Miscellaneous Divisions of the proceedings contains the following 18 papers: "The Detroit Newspapers' Coverage of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit Before and During the Newspaper Strike" (Geri Alumit Zeldes); "Uncivil Religion and Uncivil Science: A Case Study in News Framing and the Sociology of Knowledge" (Rick Clifton Moore); "Portrayal of Religion in Reality TV Programming: Hegemony and the Contemporary American Wedding" (Erika Engstrom and Beth Semic); "Are Disability Images in Advertising Becoming Bold and Daring? An Analysis of Prominent Themes in U.S. and UK Campaigns" (Beth A. Haller and Sue Ralph); "An Analysis of the Dissimilar Coverage of the 2002 Olympics and Paralympics: Frenzied Pack Journalism Versus the Empty Press Room" (Anne V. Golden); "Students as Citizens: Experiential Approaches to Teaching Civic Journalism" (Chike Anyaegbunam and Buck Ryan); "How Public Sphere Theorists Have Influenced Civic Journalism" (Sherrie L. Wilson); "Disposition and Ethnicity in Competition-Based Reality Television Programming: An Examination of the Effects on Viewer Enjoyment" (Kristin M. Barton and Arthur A. Raney); "Marriage on Television: A Content Analysis" (Sara Netzley); "Late-night Comedy in Election 2000: The Direct Effects of Exposure on Candidate Trait Ratings and the Moderating Role of Political Knowledge" (Dannagal E. Goldthwaite); "Learning to Do What Comes Naturally: Delivery Instruction in Broadcast News Textbooks" (Catherine Winter); "Axis of Evil vs. Sunshine Frame: U.S. and S. Korean TV News Coverage of President Bush's Visit to S. Korea" (Jong Hyuk Lee and Yun Jung Choi); "Journalism Students' Perceptions of the Value of Internships" (John E. Getz); "Portfolios for Television News Careers: Recommendations from Pennsylvania News Directors" (B. Gail Wilson); "In Search of a Forest, Not Just the Trees: Online Journalism Scholarship at the 10-Year Mark" (Jane B. Singer and Shayla Thiel); "Seeing as Believing: A Cast Study of Weber's Schema of Charisma and Institution Building As Seen in Visual Images of Students at a Christian Liberal Arts College, 1900-1940" (Michael A. Longinow); "Media Convergence: Industry Practices and Implications for Education" (David Bulla); and "Is It the Grades or the Goods? Instructor and Course Ratings: A Self Determination Theory

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Perspective" (Vincent F. Filak and Kennon M. Sheldon). (RS)

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The Detroit Newspapers' coverage of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit before and during the Newspaper Strike

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Abstract

A content analysis of the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* showed that coverage of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit during the Detroit Newspaper Strike (July 13, 1995 to February 20, 1997) increased and the tone of the coverage was more favorable during the strike than before the strike. The findings contrast with claims by members of the Catholic Church in Detroit that the newspapers had an institutional bias against the church.

Introduction

Allegations of institutional bias in the news media is nothing new.[1] Two recently published books that provide anecdotes of liberal bias in the news media is however, encouraging fresh debates about the lack of fairness and balance in journalism: Bernard Goldberg's *Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News*, and William McGowan's *Coloring the News: How Crusading for Diversity Has Corrupted American Journalism*[2]. Critics of these books fault the authors for providing no scholarly research to substantiate their claims of liberal news bias.[3] This study back peddles in time to substantiate or refute claims of news bias made by members of a religious institution.

The main purpose of this research is to use content analysis to measure the *Detroit News'* and the *Detroit Free Press'* coverage of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese before and during the Detroit newspaper strike, which took place July 13, 1995 to February 20, 1997. Members of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit claimed the newspapers gave unfavorable and less coverage of the Archdiocese during this period.

Background to the Detroit Newspaper Strike and role of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit

In 1989 a joint operating agreement (JOA) allowed the formation of the Detroit Newspaper Agency (DNA), which managed distribution and sales for the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press* newspapers. Two years later the newspaper conflict arose when the DNA approached the following unions with a cost-cutting plan: Newspaper Guild Local 22, Teamsters Locals 372 and 2040, Graphic Communications International Union Local 13N and 289M and Typographical Union Local 18. Through buyouts and attrition, the plan would have eliminated 109 distribution and production jobs. The plan also wanted to substitute the mandatory wage increases for all newsroom employees with a merit-pay system. On the night of July 13, 1995, the DNA and the unions failed to reach an agreement, which jumpstarted the Detroit Newspaper Strike.[4]

An estimated 2,500 workers walked out on their jobs at the *News* and the *Free Press*. Before the strike legally ended on Valentine's Day, February 14, 1997, many people, businesses and organizations in Detroit chose sides in the labor conflict.[5] One of those organizations was the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit,[6] which at that time served approximately 1.4 million Catholics across six counties in southeastern Michigan.[7]

On August 15, 1995 Adam Cardinal Maida, the Archbishop of Detroit, released a formal statement on the strike.[8] The statement referred to Catholic social teaching, which historically supported workers' right to strike. The statement was sent to the local media and the hundreds of parishes, schools and institutions under the Archdiocese. Management at the *Detroit News* criticized this statement because it did not take into consideration the *News'* point of view.[9]

Research issue: Lack of Church and Press Research

A literature search produced no scholarly work exclusively on the coverageor relationship between the Detroit newspapers and the Archdiocese of Detroit. The most similar study was Ragains' thesis which used narrative description and found that the coverage of Fr. Charles E. Coughlin in four large newspapers, three of which were from Detroit, had no influence on Coughlin's electoral results in 1936 election in general.[10]

A review of literature on the coverage of religion in the press was more successful.

Evidence exists however, that in recent years, scholarly interest in increasing religious coverage is growing. A *Los Angeles Times* religion columnist John Dart and the Rev. Jimmy Allen, a Southern Baptist church leader and expert on religious communication, surveyed newspaper reporters and editors for a 1993 study titled *Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media*. The study found the press refrains from covering religion because religious stories are rarely newsworthy, there's a lack of understanding of different religions, and the "hard evidence for the supernatural" is scant.[11] The Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University sponsored the study. A convention called "Religion and the News" used the findings as a springboard for discussion. The Center's sister institution, the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center held the convention later that fall. The Convention gathered nearly 150 theologians, journalists and leaders from religion and media from around the nation.[12]

A much smaller assembly of religion and media journalists gathered May 1, 1995 at the University of Rochester to discuss the press' coverage of religion. The study used to springboard discussion is titled "Faith versus fact: Press images of religion in the United States."[13] Two researchers and 37 graduate students at the University of Rochester used content analysis on seven major metropolitan newspapers from February 6-March 5, 1995. The students recorded all religious mentions in the 192 papers studied. Their major findings are: 1. Across the board, religion was mentioned in the newspapers nearly 2.5 times more than it was the focus of an article; 2. Articles on religious beliefs, values and practices usually contained misstatements about that religion; 3. The majority of religion articles focused on political/legal issues, followed by articles on criminal activities/bad deeds, and the majority of these stories appeared outside the religion page or section; 4. The majority of the stories on the religion page focused on internal organization issues, and; 5. Christianity dominated coverage in the religion page/section.

Initiatives launched by newspaper companies and academic institutions also revealed a growing interest in filling the gap of religious coverage. In 1994, Newhouse News Service bought the New York-based Religious News Service, which was founded in 1934 by the National Conference of Christians and Jews with the aim of providing accurate and fair reports on religion. The *Dallas Morning News,* the *News Tribune* of Tacoma, Wash., and the *Concord* (N.H) *Monitor,* have developed "religion section prototypes).[14] In 1994, *ABC* became the first network to hire its first full-time religious issues correspondent. In January of that year, *CBS News* anchor Dan Rather told *TV Guide* that religion is "consistently underreported" by the news media:

> That's especially unfortunate when you remember how many of the worst conflicts today are born of religious understanding — in Bosnia or the West Bank, in Ireland or

> India, or right down on the street. There isn't a news organization that wouldn't benefit from greater attention to the coverage of religion.[15]

Academic institutions, such as Columbia University, are also trying to increase and improve the coverage of religion in the news. With the financial support of the Scripps Howard Foundation, Columbia started a program in fall 1997 oriented around improving religious coverage in the media at their journalism graduate school.

Writing workshops around the country and several books have been published in recent years that explore the relationship between religion and the news media. The National Institute for Healthcare Research (NIHR) started sponsoring Religion Writing Workshops at colleges and universities through the U.S. as a result of discovering the connectedneess between spirituality and wellness.[16] In 1997, Stewart and Knut Lundby published *Rethinking Media, Religion, and Culture,* a collection of papers that discuss the theoretical intersections of these three fields. In 1998, Hoover published *Religion in the News,* a book that explores the media's use of religion. Also in that same year, Judith M. Buddenbaum published *Reporting News About Religion: An Introduction for Journalists,* which it's publisher, Iowa State University Press claims is the "first-of-its-kind" book on writing about religion.[17]

Theoretical Framework

Concerns over News Bias and Influences on Content

Public criticism that alleges news bias motivated scholarly and professional studies of media fairness. Non-profit institutions focused on improving journalism launched initiatives, such as research studies and roundtable discussions, to help amend practices that erode news credibility.

Shoemaker and Reese's[18] *Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* claim that content is as a result of various layers or forces, such (1) the individual (2) media routines, (3) organization, (4) extramedia and (5) ideology. The individual refers to the beliefs and background of media workers, such as reporters and editors. Media routines include the craft of gathering and reporting the story and relationships reporters have with their sources. Organization refers to the beliefs and background of the news media company or institution. Extramedia refers to competition the news media organization has in the marketplace, such as other newspapers or television news stations. Ideology refers to the beliefs of the culture that surrounds the new media, such as free speech and justice. A change in any of the aforementioned levels impacts coverage.

Hypotheses

Fr. Thomas Gumbleton, an Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Detroit, believed the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit received less coverage and the coverage it received was unfavorable. In an interview with the researcher, Bishop Gumbleton[19] said the Archdiocese lost favor with managers and reporters at the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* after the Archdiocese issued a formal statement supporting the newspaper workers' right to strike. On an aside, Gumbleton said the newspapers specifically covered him in an unfavorable light because he was particularly active and vocal about criticizing the Detroit newspapers.

Ned McGrath,[20] the public relations director of the Archdiocese of Detroit had a different theory to explain the shift in coverage of the Archdiocese. In an interview with the researcher, McGrath said a change in the coverage of the Archdiocese will be due to changes in reporters and editors as a result of the strike. These new people probably wrote less on the Archdiocese because they were initially unfamiliar with Detroit geographically, let alone with the workings and opinions of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit:

> ...if you have someone that doesn't have any concept, not only of religion, but doesn't know the difference between St. Clare County and St. Clare City, it's real tough. You try to explain to them what's important and what's not important, so those were difficult times right after the strike started.

McGrath adds that the Detroit newspapers may have led to less coverage of the Archdiocese during the strike because he pitched far less story ideas to reporters at the newspapers during this period. Before the strike he readily called the reporters at the newspapers to pitch story ideas because he was familiar with the reporters and knew they may be interested in covering his ideas. After the strike, McGrath did not have established contacts with anyone at the newspapers whom he felt comfortable pitching his story ideas to.

H1: The coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit in the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* decreased during the Detroit Newspaper Strike.
H2: The coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit was less favorable during the Detroit Newspaper Strike.

According to Bishop Gumbleton, the *Free Press* was probably not only fairer to the Archdiocese after the strike began, but it has historically been fairer in covering religion in general. Gumbleton said he has a strained relationship with the *Detroit News.*

> The *News* has always been critical of my activities ever since I involved myself in the Vietnam War. The *Free Press* did a good job of covering religion. They also have an editorial staff that is more compatible with the Church's teachings.

Bishop Gumbleton went on to say that the *News* has a tendency to "twist" information from church leaders in order to serve its needs. McGrath also said overall, he was more familiar with reporters at the *Free Press* than the *News* before and during the strike. This relationship may have led to more coverage and more favorable coverage at the *Free Press.*

H3: Coverage of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit in the *Detroit Free Press* will be more favorable than coverage in the *Detroit News.*

Method

The researcher used content analysis to examine coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit 583-days before and during the 583-day strike. Ban and Adams 1997 study, *LA Times coverage Korean Americans before, after 1992 riots* guided the design of this study.[21] The population in their study consisted of articles mentioning "Korean Americans." This study was defined as all articles mentioning Adam Cardinal Maida or the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit, including editorials, letters to the editors, and columns, 583 days before the strike from December 7, 1993 to July 12, 1995—and the 583 days during the strike July 13, 1995, ending February 20, 1997. Unlike Ban and Adam's research, this study uses articles from two different newspapers for comparison.

The researcher obtained full texts of *Detroit Free Press* articles through the newspaper's CD-Rom and articles from the *Detroit News* through the Lexis/Nexus database. Only stories by the *News* and *Free Press* staff members were used. Therefore, no wire stories and their photos, graphics or illustrations were used.

During the 583-day period before the strike, the *Detroit Free Press* printed a total of 164 articles and the *Detroit News* printed a total of 10 articles mentioning "Maida" or "Archdiocese." During the 583-day period of the strike, the *Free Press* printed a total of 183 articles and the *News* printed 60 such articles. After obituaries, sports-related items, items containing fewer than 200 words, items which appear in "briefs" such as job promotions, books or events sponsored by the Archdiocese, items already ran once, but listed a second time because they were later printed in a later edition of the newspaper,[22] and items mentioning an Archdiocese other than Detroit or a Maida other than Adam Cardinal Maida, were excluded from the population, the total number of articles accepted for the period before the strike was 84 for the *Free Press* and 6 for the *News*. The total number of articles accepted during the strike was 97 for the *Free Press* and 40 for the *News*. The unit of analysis was the whole item, whether a news story, an editorial, a letter to the editor, or an opinion column, exceeding 200 words.

Content categories

Four categories were used to address the hypotheses: **(1) amount of editorial space, (2) type and placement of the news item (3) use of photos or other graphics and (4) tone.** Operational definitions for these categories are defined below.

The researcher tallied the number of news items and words and asked whether the news item was the "central focus" or "merely mentioned" to address the **(1) amount of editorial space**. The Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit is the **central focus** if the story is about the Archdiocese or is about one of the churches, schools, agencies, events, leaders and lay people belonging to the Archdiocese. An example of a story with the Archdiocese is the central focus is a story on a Reverend preparing for the ecumenical prayer service for the then "Mayor-elect" Dennis Archer and the ordination of two auxiliary bishops.[23] All other news items are merely **mentioned** if the Archdiocese is a brief part of the news items. The researcher considered news items that only paraphrased or quoted a member or leader of the Archdiocese as part of a story as "merely mentioned."

The following are the operational definitions for **(2) story type and placement:**

Commentary: a signed opinion piece

Editorial: an unsigned opinion piece.

Letters to the editor: correspondences from the public and appear on the "Letters to the editor" page.

Front page: the new item appears on the first page of the newspaper; the most newsworthy items of the day usually appear on this page.

Front section: The first group of new items.

Business: This section has news items related to business such as stock market figures.

Feature: an article that is not time-bound (i.e. not restricted to articles that deal with a standard news story). The feature article may be written on the basis of appeal and general interest rather than the immediacy of the issue(s) addressed. Features may also elaborate specific aspects of current events/issues that are standard news, which help the reader to attain a deeper understanding of those events and issues. Features include but are not limited to travel supplements, book, art, movie and music reviews.

Metro/Local news: This section contains news pertinent to the local area, which aren't as newsworthy as local items that appear on the front page.

For the category **(3) use of photos or other graphics**, the coder looked at the end of the article for "Graphic" (*News*) or "GRAPHIC TYPE" (*Free Press*). The graphic description indicates whether a "photo or a map" accompanied the news item. If the news item was not accompanied by a photo or a map, then researcher coded "03=no photo/map mentioned."

Three variables, favorable, unfavorable and neutral, are defined to address **(4) tone**:

Favorable: News items that praise or congratulate the Archdiocese of Detroit for an event or an achievement are coded "favorable" toward the Archdiocese. News items that exonerate the Archdiocese for wrongdoing are also coded "favorable." A news item is also coded "favorable" if the article contains much more positive than negative portrayals of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit. News items in this category will feature for example the church generally involved in good deeds, more specifically in charitable or community events or agencies. A more specific example of this type of news item is one featuring a citizenship workshop sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit.[24]

Unfavorable: A news item is "unfavorable" if it criticizes or mocks the Archdiocese of Detroit or if it accuses the Archdiocese of wrongdoing. A news item was also coded "unfavorable" if the article contained much more negative than positive portrayals of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit. An example of this type of news item is one discussing a lawsuit against the Archdiocese of Detroit for the sexual abuse of a seminarian by one of his mentors, a former priest under the Archdiocese.[25]

Neutral: A news item is "neutral" if it neither praises nor criticizes the Archdiocese of Detroit; The news item is "neutral if it simply relays information on the Archdiocese. A news item is also coded "neutral" if the article has an even balance between "favorable" and "unfavorable" perspectives of the Archdiocese. An example of a news item under this category is a story discussing the circumstances surrounding the shooting death of a priest under the Archdiocese of Detroit. The article does not praise or criticize the church in this example.[26]

Reliability of Measures and Analysis

The researcher, the primary coder, entered data. Five to six stories on the Archdiocese of Detroit after the strike ended was used to pretest the coding protocol. After refinements to the protocol, the researcher used 10-15 stories after the strike ended to "test the reliability against herself at two points in time—referred to as stability in coding. This tests whether slippage has occurred in the single coder's understanding or application of the protocol definitions."[27]

A coder reliability check was done with a M.A. student[28] in journalism with 10 stories randomly selected from the population. The researcher and student's coding had a 84 percent agreement. When the variable asking the "topic"[29] of the news items was removed the agreement became 89 percent.

The research ran the data for frequencies and cross tabs. The data used the universe of stories on the Roman Catholic Archiocese of Detroit so findings do not require inferential statistics.

Findings

Hypotheses was **not** supported. The coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit in the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* increased rather than decreased during the Detroit Newspaper Strike.

H2: The coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit was less favorable during the Detroit Newspaper Strike.

The overall **(1) amount of editorial space** given to the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit changed in the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* after July 13, 1995, the beginning of the Detroit Newspaper strike. Table 1 shows that the overall number of news items between the two newspapers increased from 90 news items before to 137 items during the strike. The *News* had nearly 7-times more news items on the Archdiocese during the strike (n=40) than before the strike (n=6).

This content analysis also asked whether the Archdiocese was the "central focus" or was the Archdiocese merely "mentioned" in *News* and *Free Press* articles. The number of news items with the Archdiocese as the "central focus" also increased from 54 stories (39.6

percent) before the strike to 82 (60.4 percent) during the strike. The finding that coverage of the Archdiocese increased is also confirmed when examining the total number of words devoted to the Archdiocese before and during the strike. Overall, the Detroit Newspapers used more words to cover the Archdiocese during the newspaper strike (58,759) than before the newspaper strike (40,110).

Table 1. Number of news items on the Archdiocese before and during the strike

Paper	**Before**	**During**	**Row N** **%**
News	6	40	46 20.3
Free Press	84	97	181 79.7
Column N **%**	90 39.6	137 60.4	227 100.0

As for the **(2) type and placement of news items,** collectively, Table 2 indicates that the only dramatic difference was in the "Metro" category: 20 (22.2 percent of the total coverage during that period) news items before the strike and 52 (38 percent of the total coverage during that period) news items during the strike. Table 3 indicates that not only did the *Detroit News* have many more news items during the strike, but the placement of the news items became more diverse with items located in the "editorial, letters to the editor and business" sections. The *Free Press* also showed an increase in the number and percentage of news items located in the "Metro" section as Table 4 indicates: 17 news items, accounting for 20.2 percent of the *Free Press'* coverage before the strike and 32 news items, accounting for 33 percent of the *Free Press'* coverage during the strike. The number of news items in the "Metro" section, therefore, nearly doubled during the strike.

Another notable difference in the "type and placement of news items" in the *Free Press* during the two periods occurred in the "front section" and "feature" categories. The number of items decreased in these categories during the strike. In the "front section" before the strike there were 20 news items, accounting for 23.8 percent of *Free Press* coverage and 12 news items or 12.4 percent of the coverage during the strike. Thus, the number of news items in the front section decreased by half. Although the number of news items in the "front section" decreased during the strike, the number of news items on the "front page," slightly increased from 19 items before the strike (22.6 percent) and 24 (24.7 percent) during the strike, possibly leveling off the significance in the decrease in news items in the "front section" during the strike. Like the "front section," the "feature" section during the strike also experienced a drop in the number of news items during the strike: 14 (16.6 percent) before and 9 (9.3 percent) during the strike.

Table 2. Type and placement of news items for *News* and *Free Press*

time period	Com.	Editorial	Letters to edit.	Front pg.	Front section	Biz	Featur	Metro	Other	Total
before		4 4.5%	3 3.3%	20 22.2%	21 23.3%	3 3.3%	15 16.7	20 22.2%	4 4.5%	90 39.6
during	1 .7%	9 6.6%	6 4.3%	27 19.7%	21 15.3%	6 4.4%	13 9.5%	52 38%	2 1.5%	137 60.4
Total N	1 .4%	13 5.7%	9 4.0%	47 20.7%	42 18.5%	9 4.0%	28 12.3%	72 31.7%	6 2.6%	227 100.0%

Table 3. Type and placement of news items for *News*

time period	Com.	Editorial	Letters to edit.	Front pg.	Front section	Biz	Featur	Metro	Other	Total
before				1 16.66%	1 16.66%		1 16.66%	3 50%		6 13%
during		2 5%	1 2.5%	3 7.5%	9 22.5%	1 2.5%	4 10%	20 50%		40 87%
Total N		2 4.3%	1 2.2%	4 8.7%	10 21.7%	1 2.2%	5 10.9%	23 50%		46 100.0%

Table 4. Type and placement of news items for *Free Press*

time period	Com.	Editorial	Letters to edit.	Front pg.	Front sectio	Biz	Featur	Metro	Other	Total
before		4 4.8%	3 3.6%	19 22.6%	20 23.8%	3 3.6%	14 16.6%	17 20.2%	4 4.8%	84 46.4%
during	1 1%	7 7.2%	5 5.2%	24 24.7%	12 12.4%	5 5.2%	9 9.3%	32 33%	2 2%	97 53.6
Total N	1 .6%	11 6.1%	8 4.4%	43 23.8%	32 17.7%	8 4.4%	23 12.7%	49 27.1%	6 3.3%	181 100.0%

In regards to the (3) **use of photos or other graphics,** in both newspapers, 56 news items before and 58 news items during the strike were accompanied by photos, maps, charts and graphs as Table 6 indicates. These number of news items represent 62 and 42 percent of the total number of news items respectively during that period. The number of news items (from n= 49 to 44) and the percentage of news items (54.5 to 32.1 percent) during their respective periods with photos decreased during the strike. The number of news items (n=56 and 58) and the percentage of items (62 and 58 percent) before and during the strike are more evenly distributed when considering news items accompanied by some type of graphic versus those without.

Table 6 indicates that photos did not accompany the majority of the News' news items before and during the strike. This newspaper did not use maps, charts or graphs with any of the news items on the Archdiocese. Table 7 indicates that the *Free Press* decreased the number and percentage of news items (n=48 to 37 and 57.1 to 38.1 percent) accompanied by a photo, but increased the number of news items accompanied by other graphics (map, chart or graph from n= 0 to 4 and 0 to 4.1 percent) and accompanied by multiple graphics (n= 7 to 10 and 8.3 to 10.3 percent) during the strike.

Table 5. Number of news items w/ photos, maps, charts and graphs or without photos, maps... in the *News* and *Free Press* before and during the strike

time period	photo	map/chart/graph	no photo, m/c/g	>1—photo/ m/c/g	Total N %
before	49 54.4%	0 0	34 37.8%	7 7.8%	90 39.6
during	44 32.1%	4 2.9%	79 57.7%	10 7.3	137 60.4%
Total N %	93 41%	4 1.8	113 49.8	17 7.5%	227 100.0%

Table 6. Number of photos and no photos used in the *News*. (This newspaper did not use maps, charts or graphs).

time period	photo	no photo	Total N %
before	1	5	6 13%
during	7	33	40 87%
Total N %	8 17.4%	38 82.6%	46 100.0%

Table 7. Number of photos, maps, charts and graphs or news items with no in the *Free Press* before and during the strike

time period	photo	map/chart/graph	no photo	>1—photo/m/c/g	Total N %
before	48 57.1%	0	29 34.5%	7 8.3%	84 46.4
during	37 38.1%	4 4.1%	46 47.5%	10 10.3%	97 53.6
Total N %	85 47%	4 2.2%	75 41.4%	17 9.4%	181 100.0%

In regards to the overall (5) **tone** of the coverage on the Archdiocese, two variables—the tone (favorable, unfavorable or neutral) and time period (before and during)—were cross-tabulated to determine the direction of the newspapers' coverage of the Archdiocese related to the time period, before and after the newspaper strike. **Table 8** indicates that before the strike the majority of the coverage (n-47, 52.2 percent) was favorable, followed by neutral (n=29, 32.2 percent) and unfavorable (n= 14, 15.6 percent). The same ranking occurred during the newspaper strike: favorable (n= 74, 54 percent), neutral (n= 49, 35.7 percent) and unfavorable (n=14, 10.2 percent).

Table 8. Tone of the *News'* and *Free Press'* coverage of the Archdiocese before and during the newspaper strike

Tone	Before	During	Row N %
favorable	47 52.2%	74 54%	121 53.3
unfavorable	14 15.6%	14 10.2%	28 12.3
neutral	29 32.2%	49 35.7%	78 34.4
Column N %	90 39.6%	137 60.4%	227 100.0%

In regards to the second research question: Was the *Detroit News'* percentage of unfavorable coverage on the Archdiocese of Detroit higher than the *Detroit Free Press'* percentage of unfavorable coverage? As Table 9 indicates, only 28 out of the 227 news items were unfavorable to the Archdiocese before and during the strike. As Table 10 shows, the *News* only had 5 (17.9 percent) and the *Free Press* had 23 (82.1 percent) of the news items that were unfavorable. Thus, no, the *News* had a lower percentage of unfavorable coverage on the Archdiocese than the *Free Press*. For discussion purposes, Table 10 shows that the total amount of favorable coverage (n=74 news items, 61.2 percent) occurred during the strike. This table shows that the *News* dramatically increased its favorable coverage of the Archdiocese from 4 before to 23 during the strike. The number of neutral news items increased in the *News* from 0 before and 14 during the strike, as Table 11 indicates. Tables 9 to 11 show no dramatic increase in the percentage of unfavorable, favorable and neutral items in the *Free Press*.

Table 9. Unfavorable coverage of the Archdiocese before and during the strike

Paper	**Before**	**During**	**Row N %**
News	2 40%	3 60%	5 17.9%
Free Press	12 52.2%	11 47.8%	23 82.1%
Column N %	14 50%	14 50%	28 100%

Table 10. Favorable coverage of the Archdiocese before and during the strike

Paper	**Before**	**During**	**Row N %**
News	4 14.8%	23 85.2%	27 22.3%
Free Press	43 45.7%	51 54.3%	94 77.7%
Column N %	47 38.8%	74 61.2%	121 100%

Table 11. Neutral coverage of the Archdiocese before and during the strike

Paper	**Before**	**During**	**Row N %**
News	0	14 100%	14 17.9%
Free Press	29 45.3%	35 54.7	64 82.1
Column N %	29 37.2%	49 62.8%	78 100%

Discussion

A case study's findings can not be generalized to other settings and circumstances because of its unique characteristics. This study however makes several contributions. First, it provides an overview of the Detroit Newspaper strike through the purview of one of the newspapers' sources, the Archdiocese of Detroit. Second, its findings can be noted in future studies that use Shoemaker and Reese's *Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* to examine the relational differences of a source to different newspapers.

This study's first contribution is that it provides context to the Detroit Newspaper strike and its relationship with the Archdiocese of Detroit. The strike impacted the relationship, judging from interviews with McGrath and Archbishop Gumbleton. More information obtained about the strike's impacts, which this study briefly provides, may help other newspapers to avoid similar events. In late 1996 and early 1997, half a dozen newspaper executives from across the country visited the *News* and the *Free Press* "to learn tactics and strategies to avoid a similar situation, or, if necessary, how to weather a strike," said Susie Ellwood, a spokeswoman for the DNA. The DNA produced a five-volume documentary on the strike for distribution to newspaper executives in other companies.[30] This study provides another angle to the Detroit Newspaper Strike, a turbulent time in newspaper and labor history.

This study's second contribution is to scholarly research: its findings can be noted in future studies that use Shoemaker and Reese to hypothesize about the impacts of a newspaper strike on the newspaper's content and relational differences of a source to different newspapers. The findings indicate several quantitative differences in the *Detroit News'* coverage of the Archdiocese when comparing coverage 583 days before the strike from December 7, 1993, to July 12, 1995—and the 583 days during the strike, July 13, 1995, ending February 20, 1997.

This study found that the overall (1) amount of editorial space given to the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit changed in the *News* and the *Free Press* after July 13, 1995, the beginning of the Detroit Newspaper strike. The number of news items (90 before to 137), items mentioning the Archdiocese as the "central focus" (54 to 82), and words (40,110 to 58, 759) **increased** during the strike. This study's two most notable findings revolve around the *News'* dramatic increase in coverage of the Archdiocese during the strike: this newspaper had nearly 7-times more news items on the Archdiocese during the strike (n=40) than before the strike (n=6).

Shoemaker and Reese's theory can explain in part, this dramatic change in the *News'* coverage of the Archdiocese. They theorize media content as a product of the interaction of five levels: (1) the individual (2) media routines, (3) organization, (4) extramedia and (5) ideology. A change in any of these levels impacts coverage. This theory may be used to draw hypotheses for a future study using qualitative methods to explain the *News'* change in coverage: (1) the "individuals" or reporters who covered the Archdiocese of Detroit before and during the newspaper strike were different at the *News* before and during the newspaper strike; (2) media routines, such as "gatekeeping, the beat system, pack journalism, and reliance on official sources"[31] changed as result of the change in "individuals" or reporters who covered the Archdiocese; (3) organizational influences such as "political endorsements, editorial positions and corporate policies"[32] may have increased the Archdiocese's coverage because the *News* ' management may have intentionally directed reporters or editors to do so as a result of political endorsements or corporate policies. The *News* however, was critical of the Archdiocese's position on the strike in their editorials.

Another level of influence is (4) extramedia, which refers to the "economic environment in which the media operate—circulation, market size, profitability..."[33] The increase in the Archdiocese's coverage during the strike may be linked to serving the 1.4 million Catholics in metro Detroit which make up part of its circulation. Ideology, in Shoemaker and Reese's words, are "symbolic mechanisms" such as the "capitalist economic system, private ownership, pursuit of profit" that serve as "cohesive and integrating forces in society." In the future study using interviews with reporters, editors and sources, the link between these "societal-level phenomenon," and the coverage of the Archdiocese, will be explored.

Shoemaker and Reese's theory is also helpful in exploring the relational difference between the source, the Archdiocese and different newspapers, the *News* and the *Free Press*.

Contrary to Bishop Gumbleton, the *News* not only increased coverage of the Archdiocese, but the coverage became more favorable during the strike. The *News* dramatically increased its favorable coverage of the Archdiocese from 4 items before to 23 news items during the strike.

According to Shoemaker and Reese the "source and news media" relationship is significantly influenced by "access" of the source.[34] Bishop Gumbleton believes the *News* gave less coverage and unfavorable coverage to the Archdiocese based on his personal experiences during the strike. The *News* may not have covered Gumbleton because of his stance against the strike or Gumbleton made himself "inaccessible" to the *News* because of his stance on the strike. On the other hand, his bias against the *News* may have more to do with his bias for the *Free Press*. Bishop Gumbelton may prefer the *Free Press* because it covers the Archdiocese much more than the *News*, which this study confirms.

One explanation for the increased coverage in the *News'* coverage of the Archdiocese during the strike may be the result of more newsworthy events involving the Archdiocese during the strike. This however, does not explain why the *Free Press* did not experience the same dramatic increase in the number of stories during the strike. Again, the *News* had 6 news items before and 40 during the strike. The *Free Press* had 84 news items before and 97 during the strike.

Conclusions

This study intuitively believed the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press'* coverage of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit changed after July 13, 1995, the beginning of the Detroit Newspaper strike. The overall change that did occur however, was unexpected. Instead of finding decreased coverage of the Archdiocese because of its pro-striker stance, this study found increased coverage. This increased coverage during the strike was also slightly more favorable toward the Archdiocese.

This study also expected the *News'* coverage of the Archdiocese in particular to change based on the interviews with Bishop Gumbleton and McGrath, the spokesman for the

Archdiocese. These two interviewees believed the *News* would have less coverage of the Archdiocese during the strike than before the strike. This study found the opposite. The *News* surprisingly increased its coverage of the Archdiocese from 6 news items before the strike to 40 items during the strike. Another surprise was that the majority of these news items during both periods, 4 out of 6, and 23 out of 40, were favorable.

These findings, although unexpected, are useful in fashioning a questionnaire and hypotheses for a future study with sources representing the Archdiocese and reporters and editors of the Detroit newspapers. The main goal of this future study will be to find explanations for the contrast in anecdotes and opinions of Gumbleton and McGrath and the actual coverage of the Archdiocese. Another goal of this future study will be to find which explanations or levels of influences are the most powerful, further exploring the Shoemaker and Reese theory. Perhaps interviewing other sources and reporters and editors before and during the strike will better explain the quantitative change in coverage. These numbers probably only tell half the story.

Another side of the story worth exploring is the Detroit newspapers' coverage of the strikers. This case study on the strikers may be better in terms of exploring the quantitative and qualitative change of the Detroit newspapers' coverage of a source at odds with its anti-striker stance. This case study on the Detroit newspapers' treatment of the Archdiocese, is however still note worthy because it and the future study will provide insight into the various institutional differences between two newspapers which are at play while covering the same source at the same time, before and after the Detroit newspaper strike. This case study is also note worthy because it provides insight into the religion and media relationship. Studies such as this one bring more attention to the power of religious institutions in the news making process and to the need to explore this dynamic through scholarly means.

A review of literature on the coverage of religion in the press was more successful, but hardly impressive. The lack of research on religion in the press, let alone specifically the

Catholic Church and press, is surprising when considering "90% of Americans believe in God, and 25% of Americans identify themselves as Catholic."[35]

Notes

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[1] For example: J. Nelson-Horchler, "Why TV Hate Business," *Industry Week,* 17 May 198; J. Ditton and J. Duffy, "Bias in The Newspaper Reporting of Crime News," *The British Journal of Criminology,* April 1983; M. Thompson, "Possible Bias Alleged in Notorious 'Night Stalker' Case," *Criminal Justice Newsletter,* 17 Sept. 1985; G. Fishman and B. Weimann, "Presenting The Victim: Sex-based Bias In Press Reports On Crime," *Justice Quarterly,* December 1985.

[2] See: J. Roberts, "Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News," *Human Events,* 25 February 2002, p. 12; C. Toto, "Righting the Liberal News Slant," *Insight on the News Slant,* 25 February 2002, p. 30; "What's Bush Reading?" *Human Events;* 11 February 2002, p. 8; L. Cannon, "Tackling Bias," *National Reviews,* 11 February 2002, p. 43; E. Alternman, "'Whacking' the Liberal Media," *The Nation,* 11 February 2002, p,10; A. Neuharth, "'Bias': Book You Can Judge By Its Cover," *USA Today,* 8 February 2002, p. A13; R. Orvino, "Bias: A CBS Insider Exposes How the Media Distorts the News," *Entertainment Weekly,* 25 January 2002, p. 98.

[3] Ibid.

[4] C. Bowe, E. Chandler, J. Lucas, and V. Needham. *The last labor war?* **Quill,** January/February 1997.

[5] Don Gonyea, *Fallout from Detroit.* **Columbia Journalism Review,** Vol. 36, No. 1, May/June 1997, p. 36-41.

[6] *Council president, bishops arrested at rally.* **The Detroit News,** March 7, 1996, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/stories/38907.htm; E. Creager, *Bishop decries replacement hiring.* **Detroit Sunday Journal,** September 4, 1995; G. Heinlein. *Archer, Maida push for end to newspaper strike.* **The Detroit News,** December 20, 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/stories/1220.htm; A. Maida, *Plaudits and criticism of strike actions Letters to the Editor.* **The Detroit News,** August 27, 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/0827/LETTERS827.html; A. Maida, *Cardinal Adam Maida remarks: Detroit newspapers strike.* **The Detroit News,** February 19, 1997, On-line: http://detnews.com/biz/9702/19/02190034.htm; *Mayor Archer, Cardinal Maida and Senator Levin Issue Call for Reconciliation in Newspaper Strike.* **The Detroit News,** December 11, 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/stories/1222.htm; *Mayor's Press Release; Newspaper strikers' vigil: Prayer and profanity,* December 1995; *Police make arrests at strike rally at News—Gumbleton, Mahaffey among 30 seized; 400 pickets block building.* **The Detroit News,** December 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/stories/strike.htm; Significant events in Detroit's yearlong newspaper strike. **The Detroit News,** July 7, 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/stories/54976.htm; *Special report: Rights of replacement workers spark debate,* **The Detroit News,** January 11, 1996, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/0111/strike2.htm; *Statement of Cardinal Adam Maida and the Archdiocese of Detroit regarding the Current Status of the Strike at the* **Detroit Free Press/Detroit News.**; *The Strike.* **The Detroit News,** July 2, 1997, On-line: http://detnews.com/

[7] **Archdiocese of Detroit Yearbook.** Detroit: Archdiocese of Detroit, 1997.

[8] *Cardinal Adam J. Maida on the newspaper strike: "We want this thing settled."* **The Detroit Sunday Journal,** March 15, 1996, p. 4, 6; N. McGrath, *Letter regarding: Catholic Social Teaching: The news puts a spin on newspaper strike.* **The Michigan Catholic,** Sept. 1, 1995, p. 7.

[9] R. Giles, *Morality and replacement workers.* **The Detroit News,** August 27, 1995, On-line: http://detnews.com/STRIKE/0827/2EDIT827.html

[10] Ragains 1967

[11] Dart and Allen, **Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media.**

[12] **Religion and the News: A Conference Report,** New York: Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, 1994.

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[13] *Faith versus Fact: Press images of religion in the United States.* Released on May 1, 1995 during a roundtable discussion at the Wilson Commons May room, University of Rochester River Campus, Rochester, New York. Discussion Leaders: William Scott Green, Dean of Undergraduate Studies, University of Rochester & Nancy Woodhull, Pres., Nancy Woodhull & Associates, Inc., Pittsford, NY/Washington, DC.

[14] T. Case, Are editors missing the boat? **Editor & Publisher,** May 21, 1994, p. 15

[15] Case, p. 15

[16] J. Russell, *Wise media help spread God's word.* **Lansing State Journal,** Sept. 18, 1997.

[17] Juddith Buddenbaum. **Reporting News About Religion: An Introduction for Journalists.** Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1998.

[18] Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, **Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content.** White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers, ;1996, p. 65.

[19] Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Interview, March 2, 1998.

[20] Ned McGrath, Interview, February 17, 1998.

[21] H. Ban & R. C. Adams, **Newspaper Research Journal,** Summer/Fall 1997, pp. 64-78.

[22] In these cases, the first story to run was analyzed in this study.

[23] Sharony Andrews Green, *Acts of faith: Church to ring in new mayor, bishops.* **Detroit Free Press,** Dec. 28, 1995, 1B.

[24] David Crumm, *Church and federal...*

[25] Janet Naylor, *Court rules out...*

[26] Gary Heinlein, *Prayers for a slain priest,* **The Detroit News,** August 6, 1995, A1.

[27] Lacy et. al, in press, pp. 221-222

[28] Scott Garms, M.A. student at Michigan State University

[29] The researcher got rid of the following variable because the coder agreement was only 50percent:

v10. Determine the topic of the news item: ____

01 = beliefs and values
02 = charity/community/good deed
03 = criminal activities/bad deed
04 = internal issue
05 = political
06 = practices
07 = other ________________________

[30] Bowe et al., 1997.

[31] Shoemaker and Reese, p. 8.

[32] ibid.

[33] ibid.

[34] ibid, pp. 180-181.

[35] M. A. Walsh, *Meeting the call for better religion coverage.* **Editor & Publisher**, August 24,1996.

Uncivil Religion and Uncivil Science: A Case Study in News Framing and the Sociology of Knowledge

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Paper submitted to the Religion and Media Interest Group,
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 2002 Annual Convention.

Abstract

As part of his overall argument in the book *Unsecular Media*, Mark Silk claims that acts of "uncivil" religion—when one religious body openly disparages another--are consistently condemned by the media, but in a way that affirms religion. Herein, I investigate whether Silk's perspective is able to theoretically distinguish religious incivility from other forms. I propose that Peter Berger's work in the sociology of knowledge can offer insights that Silk's more narrow approach cannot. To investigate this possibility, I engage in a case study of two news stories that occurred at approximately the same time and place.

Introduction

Two Controversies. As do many churches in the United States, Crossroads Assembly of God Church in Wilder, Idaho has a sign in front of its building on which it can share messages with the community. Late in the year 2001, the church became a focus of controversy when pastor Jeff Cole used the sign to make what he thought was an appropriate religious statement. The statement was that, "The spirit of Islam is the spirit of the Antichrist."[1] When townspeople were exposed to the message, some complained to the mayor and some threatened to picket the church. Jeff Cole's act of "uncivil religion" was duly noted by the community.

At roughly the same period and just a short drive up the Snake River Valley, another Idaho town experienced its own controversy. Twin Falls, Idaho had for many years held an annual "success breakfast" in collaboration with its local community college. For the 2001 event, planners arranged for Jeremy Rifkin to be the speaker. Rifkin had recently published a book about biotechnology, a subject presumed to be of interest in an agriculture-based community. Before the success breakfast was actually celebrated, though, things began to fall apart. Rifkin had written another book in which he said negative things about the cattle industry. When community members heard about Rifkin's message, many called the college and some threatened to not attend the event. Jeremy Rifkin's act of "uncivil science" was duly noted by the community.

One Explanation. In *Unsecular Media*, Mark Silk presents the intriguing thesis that the news media in America buttress religious institutions by utilizing key religious principles in the process of reporting the news. Whereas a popular conception is that the news media are antagonistic toward religion, Silk suggests that the media are (wittingly or not) highly supportive of a religious worldview.

As part of this argument, Silk claims that the news media rarely are negative about religion, and that on those occasions when they are their negativity is firmly rooted in religious thought. One place he feels exemplifies this is in instances of "uncivil religion" (Silk, 1995, p. 9). According to Silk, the nature of the general religious convictions in our country is such that open disagreement about religious principles is taboo. When one religious body "attacks" another, the rest of the religious bodies of the country condemn the attack, and the news media simply join in. On balance, says Silk, this encourages most of us to practice "civil" religion.

In this essay, I wish to discuss the notion of civil religion as an epistemological issue. Specifically, I wish to compare and contrast news media coverage of "uncivil religion" with news media coverage of "uncivil science." While Silk's description of the news media might help us understand how the media discourage open discussion of controversial theological issues (issues that define and potentially support or weaken particular religious perspectives), it does not differentiate between this coverage and that of controversial scientific issues (issues that define and potentially support or weaken scientific perspectives).

Given this limitation in Silk's work, I wish to propose the thought of Sociologist Peter Berger as an alternative perspective for understanding the material before us. Berger's work in the sociology of knowledge offers a radically different perspective than does Silk's topical approach. In addition, Berger has attempted to address the issues of religion and science in such a way that news coverage of both might be better understood.

To begin the task of comparing and contrasting Silk and Berger's views, I will be doing a case study of two news stories that occurred in roughly the same time and place and were reported by a single newspaper. In analyzing the way this one news organization framed a story of uncivil religion and another of uncivil science, I hope to shed light on the difficulty that exists in conceptualizing the first of these, but dismissing the second (as Silk's perspective is wont to do).

Theoretical Perspective

Unsecular Media and Uncivil Religion. Silk's work is an attempt to make sense of conflicting data on the subject of secularization, especially as that data relates to the mass media. Many Americans hold the belief that their country has become more secular in the 20th century. In addition, they believe that the media have played a significant role in this process. Silk brings forth a significant number of popular and academic writers who have provided support for this widely held belief (Silk, 1995, p. 37-38). In addition, however, he brings forth data to suggest that America has not—on the whole—become more secular in regards to its institutions, and that the media in particular do not show signs of such (Silk, 1995, p. 39).

In the end—or rather the beginning, as this provides the rationale for his own study—Silk concludes that the reason for much of the disagreement on this matter is methodological. That is, the practice of content analysis is not capable of giving a satisfactory answer to the question of whether or not the media have encouraged a more secular society (Silk, 1995, p. 43). Instead, critical observers of religion and the media should be carefully examining the topoi with which the media cover religion.

Topoi[2] are general conceptions or commonplaces that cultures use to understand the events of their world (Silk, 1995, p. 50). They can provide a rationale by which a culture is able to understand anything that occurs around it. The reason this is important, according to Silk, is that the topoi by which American mass media describe and understand American religion are largely religious (p. 55). In other words, when American reporters are faced with the difficult task of relating a news story about religion to their audience, they do not simply observe and relay the crucial features of the event as brute facts. Instead they need some system for making sense of the facts. The systems they tend to draw upon are classic teachings of religion, most often Hebrew and Christian religion, according to Silk.

The bulk of Silk's book is a listing and elaboration of various topoi. He provides a new chapter for each topos, such as the topos of good works, or the topos of hypocrisy. Two specific topoi are of greatest concern here. These are the topoi of "tolerance" and "inclusion." Silk's contention is that both of these are recurring themes in dominant western religious traditions. He even provides scriptural references at he head of each of these chapters to demonstrate the Christian roots of the concepts.[3] The greater goal, however, is to demonstrate that America is a land of religious pluralism. In such an environment, all religious bodies must be tolerant of other religious bodies, and open disparagement of one religion by another is not to be accepted (Silk, 1995, p. 8). Basically—from Silk's perspective—public attack of another's religion contradicts a longstanding religious tradition in our culture. Hence, when the media appear to condemn such "uncivil" religious discourse they are not relegating religion to second-class status. They are actually privileging it.

Unsung Epistemologies and Indiscernible Realities. Among those whom Silk cites as an alternative to his work is Peter Berger. Silk mentions Berger's writings only briefly, with one of two references being within a footnote (Silk, 1995, page 45, page 123). In many ways this is odd in that Berger is a highly respected sociologist who has written extensively on the issue of secularization. Silk brings Berger into his discussion as an example of someone who believes the media can be a force in secularization, but this introduction does little justice to Berger's potential insights into the issues at hand.

In fact, from some of his earliest writings Berger exhibited great interest in the issue of secularization and its tenability as a theoretical perspective. At one point Berger believed that increasing modernity naturally leads to a decline in religiosity (Berger, 1998; Berger, 1996). The commonly held belief among sociologists has been that as societies advance economically and politically they abandon long-held religious traditions. Berger explains that he was not alone in such a view. In his own words, "In my early work I contributed to this literature and was in good company so doing" (Berger, 1996, p. 3-4).

But Berger is at pains to demonstrate the inaccuracy of his early analysis on this subject. As he describes it, the more he examined the modernity/secularization relationship, the more the data seemed to indicate a very weak—if existent at all—correlation. While there are parts of the world where such a correlation appears to fit observable data, many societies experience high levels of modernization while showing few indicators of decreased religiosity. In fact, Berger's description of the situation is quite assertive, as he says, "The world today, then, is massively religious, and it is anything but the secularized world that had been predicted (be it joyfully or despondently) by so many analysts of modernity"(Berger, 1996, p. 7). Like Silk, Berger feels that paranoia in regards to secularization is unwarranted.

There is a strong difference here that need be noted, though. Berger differs from Silk in his tendency to offer some insight into the *potential* for secularization, especially in the United States. When examined closely, this difference also points to a deeper theoretical distinction between the two scholars. In many ways, Berger's work in the secularization is an extension of his work in the sociology of knowledge. And, as we will see, his theoretical orientation toward the maintenance (and abandonment) of "knowledge" is directly related to our immediate subject.

Berger's epistemological orientation is anchored in his early work in the field, work done with Thomas Luckmann. In their collaborative work *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), the authors attempt to demonstrate that all knowledge is socially constructed knowledge. All societies have a stock of ideas that are widely accepted. This stock of ideas varies from one society to another. As a sociologist, Berger is obliged to distinguish and/or illuminate the differences between the "realities" or "knowledge" of two societies (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 2). Acknowledging these two "realities" poses problems for some, specifically those with philosophical or religious backgrounds. As example, upon seeing these two putative realities as incompatible, the philosopher feels a need to discount one of them. According to Berger (1969, p. 6) the sociologist is under no such compulsion. Instead, the sociologist has the task of studying the ways in which these differing realities are maintained and transformed. That is, a sociologist's job is to note the way a particular society props up a specific set of ideas as "knowledge."

To explain this process of epistemological reinforcement, Berger (1967, 1969, 1992) uses the term "plausibility structures." To the extent that groups of people can develop systems for maintaining and validating certain beliefs and endorsing them as "knowledge," that group will likely be able to survive the doubts that arise in a pluralistic world. Our notions of the world "continue to be plausible to us in a very large measure because others continue to affirm them" (Berger, 1969, p. 34).

Obviously, strong social entities—let us say large ones, such as "cultures"—do a good job of affirming their taken-for-granted notions. If they do not, they cannot continue to be strong social entities; they cannot hold on to their members. More important for our purpose, if a *group* exists *within* a larger culture but fails to find its reality affirmed on a regular basis, that group is what Berger refers to as a "cognitive minority" (Berger, 1969, p. 6). Cognitive minorities are not uncommon in the modern world, partly because of the increased mobility of human beings. When a citizen moves from one geographical location to another quite distant from the first, he/she will likely find him/herself to be a cognitive minority in the new location (assuming he/she was well acculturated in the first). Berger's example of a cognitive minority is a person who is raised in a culture that "knows" human lives are influenced by the stars. Such a person might move to radically different culture where everybody "knows" astrological bodies have little impact on the future of any human being. Upon such a move, the person becomes a cognitive minority (again, assuming he/she was well acculturated in the first culture).

Here is where Berger's broader theoretical orientation overlaps with the specific subject of potential secularization. Secularization is possible in modernizing societies to the extent that pluralism presents a variety of plausibility structures and none of them can gain strong credibility. As Berger (1969) describes it, the weaker the plausibility structure, the weaker the plausibility, with the latter ranging from "unquestionable certitude through firm probability to mere opinion" (p. 36). Put differently, "modernity pluralizes the lifeworlds of individuals and consequently undermines all taken-for-granted certainties" (Berger, 2001, p. 449).

Thus when we look at news coverage of uncivil religion in relation to pluralization of lifeworlds, we understand it quite differently than when we examine it as a topos for tolerance. Whereas Silk's perspective might lead us to see news coverage of "uncivil" religion as potentially strengthening religious institutions in a culture, Berger's leads us to see it as potentially weakening them. For Silk, the issue is the overall topos of positive, tolerant, inclusive religion. The presumption is that American news media prop up such an image when they chastise uncivil religionists. For Berger, the possibility exists that news coverage of religious dissension may have a negative effect on religiosity because it increases a sense of plurality and weakens (potentially) plausibility structures for the religious bodies in dispute.

Areas for Further Investigation

The broad introduction provided above suggests a theoretical difference that is certainly worthy of much more investigation and discussion. For our purposes, though, it recommends some specific areas of questioning that can be brought to a much less abstract level.

Unsecular Media and the Privileging of Religion News. Silk's orientation posits a media system that is deeply indebted to and highly supportive of traditional religious views of the world. Specifically in regards to his picture of news coverage of "uncivil religion" he paints a picture of news coverage that holds religion in a special place by using religious principles to set the boundaries for civil interaction—especially interaction related to religion.

What Silk fails to specifically address is his description (albeit implicit) of a system that privileges religious news coverage. This may be easier to envision when illuminated in question form. Why is religious controversy unique in being protected from discussion, heated debate, even antagonism within the news media? Obviously there are differences of opinion on subjects other than religion. People can disagree on whether there is a legitimate threat of global warming just as they can disagree about whether or not there is such a thing as hell. Why is the first set of disagreements inherently different from the second?

What Silk has created is a view of the media that suggests they treat religious disputes in a very different way than they do secular disputes. Is this born out by empirical evidence? That is, are stories detailing disagreements about theological issues presented in a noticeably different format than are stories about social, political, or personal disagreements (to name a few)? If so, what are the key factors that distinguish these types of stories? Are there indications in news stories themselves that give hints as to the differences of approach to religious and secular news? Each of these questions seems quite important if we are to gain better understanding of (and perhaps critique) Silk's thesis.

Epistemological Media and Affirmed Plausibility Structures. Seen in comparison to what was just described, Berger's perspective does not appear to offer such a privileged position to religion news. If the media are presumed to be purveyors of knowledge, then they offer plausibility structures for that knowledge. If some kinds of knowledge are more "taken-for-granted" than others, it is presumably because they have received the benefit of frequent and consistent plausibility structures.

As America in the early 21st century is a highly pluralized society, Berger's theory posits that it will have highly divergent knowledge. Some forms of knowledge will be highly supported by American culture, some will not. Those forms that are not might be the knowledge of those groups within society that are deemed cognitive minorities. Their "knowledge" might be presented as mere opinion, whereas other "knowledge" is presented as fact.

This perspective, then, also raises many questions, especially in relation to how the news media cover uncivil religion and other disagreements within society. After all, issues of uncivil religion are simply cases in which two groups have radically different views of reality and one (or more) is not willing to conceal or ignore these difference. So, in the presence of such stories we may wish to ask how various groups and their "knowledge" are portrayed? How are news stories about disagreements on the nature of knowledge presented? To what extent are plausibility structures presented in these stories? Are plausibility structures for a wide variety of beliefs presented, or only for a small number of beliefs?

Two Cases for Investigation

Though definitive answers to many of the questions raised here cannot be obtained without a series of analyses of a large number of news stories in a large number of publications, I wish to begin the task of addressing these questions by examining two specific cases of "incivility." In many ways the results of this study will be limited in their external validity. But there is much to recommend the process of analyzing the two cases that follow.

To begin with, one of the cases below is a perfect example of what Silk would call "uncivil religion." In this incident, a person who represented a particular religious faith made a direct, negative statement about another religious faith. The second case deals not with a religious issue, but with a scientific/environmental one. In this case, a nationally known author made negative claims about the practices of a particular group of individuals. Those who were objects of the claims were so threatened by them that they precipitated the cancellation of a paid speaking engagement for which the author had been contracted. Granted, one might legitimately ask whether the controversial speaker or his audience (members of the agricultural community) acted uncivilly in this second case, but it certainly has elements that recommend it for contrast with the first. In the first story the uncivil conduct relates directly to religious belief. In the second it has little or no relation to such.

These differences in the cases are important for distinguishing between the two, but several similarities make them worthy for study. Both events occurred in the last part of 2001. Both occurred in rural agricultural communities in Idaho. Finally, the daily newspaper of the largest community in the state, *The Idaho Statesman*, wrote about both.

Method of Approach

Having these two events reported side by side by the same news organization allows us to address some of the questions raised above. Given a limited context of study, we will not be able to say that what is seen in these cases is typical of other events and settings. Even so, there are some advantages to this case study approach. One advantage is that the two events have a number of shared features that might encourage a news organization to report them in similar ways. Another advantage provided here is that the case study provides a contrast with much of the work done on news coverage of religion that focuses exclusively on national news organizations. Occasional studies of smaller newspapers such as the *Statesman* temper results that assume content analyses of national media tell us what is happening in American media in general. Finally, looking at two cases as a means of investigating the issues at hand allows for a deeper level of analysis than would be possible in a quantitative analysis of a sample of stories drawn over a greater geographical and temporal range. Though there are certainly advantages to looking at a large sample of stories and understanding recurring themes and patterns, there is also an advantage to in depth analysis of entire news stories.

To do such an analysis I will be relying heavily on the tradition of mass media research that examines framing in the news. The concept of framing was originally indebted to work in interpersonal communication and psychology, especially as it relates to how individuals make sense of the experience of their lives. Goffman's (1974) early work in this area was especially important. As the concept was an attempt to explain the way individuals simplify the task of dealing with overwhelming sense data, some scholars began to apply it to the mass media. Frames provide predictable patterns for selecting and organizing experience.

Of course, the end product of news is thus predicable itself, and gives a very skewed view of reality. Entman (1993, p. 52) says of frames that they "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text." That is, the text shows a pattern that is reflective of the news producers' habits and organizational rubrics as much as it does the reality of the original phenomena. In this way framing studies have been especially attuned to the idea of investigating the political nature of framing (see Carragee, 1991; Gamson, 1992; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980). By framing stories in certain ways, news organizations play an important role in the construction and maintenance of political values.

In this instance it might be more appropriate to say that we wish to investigate how a particular way of framing the news constructs and maintains particular religious values (or perhaps does not) as well as particular plausibility structures. To investigate these possibilities, we will focus on how our two cases are presented. Altheide (1997) has described frames in the following way that seems appropriate.

> Frames are the focus, a parameter or boundary, for discussing a particular event. Frames focus on what will be discussed, how it will be discussed, and above all, how it will not

> be discussed. It is helpful to think about "frames" as very broad thematic emphases or definitions of a report, like the border around a picture, that separates it from the wall, and from other possibilities. (p. 649)

In the following analysis, then, we will be trying to see the similarities and differences between presentations of two sets of stories. More specifically, we will examine them as pictures that could have been given different boundaries, could have included material that was not, could have excluded material that was included, could have de-emphasized items that are deemed important, and could have emphasized elements that are quickly mentioned and neglected.

The Case of the Uncivil Religionist

If one had to describe the overall frame that was used to make sense of the events in Wilder, "conflict" would be a good heading (see Appendix). Overall, the story is presented as one in which a member of the community wishes to engage in activities that others do not condone. Those offended by the activities of the actor go to authorities to see if there is a way of stopping that action. There is not. Next, the community members try to find other ways of changing the behavior of the uncivil community member.

Apparently, complaints by community members first drew news media attention to this set of events. Once noticed and recognized as a conflict, however, something more is needed. *The Statesman* ran two stories on this controversy. The first fine-tuned the conflict issue by framing it as a matter of free speech. After briefly describing the two-sided nature of the conflict—a typical part of conflict framing being the process of dichotomizing views—local authorities are brought in to suggest that they "cannot censor the view reflected on the sign." Even though some community members are greatly offended by the message, the law makes no provision for its elimination. The mayor of the community is used as a voice of the law twice in the course of the story. On both occasions he stresses the limits of his office. In the first of these, the reporter stresses the mayor's displeasure with the sign itself ("finds the sign offensive" and

"It is inappropriate."). In the second reference to the Mayor and his constitutional limitations, the mayor trumpets First Amendment freedom in spite of his inability to remove the offensive and inappropriate sign.

As framing analysis is a process of examining what is emphasized or *not* emphasized, though, we should note that this free speech frame is not extended as far as it could be. Though the mayor is used as a way of explaining the free speech implications of the sign, no further elaboration is provided for this theme. Free speech issues could be the overriding thematic structure to hold the story together. Perhaps, for example, a college professor who is an expert on First Amendment issues could have been called upon to discuss the powers and limitations of government intervention in publicly visible signs. Or, a local representative of the ACLU could have been cited to explain the importance of tolerating unpopular views in a community. These possibilities were available to the reporter but not taken. We might note as evidence of this that Jeff Cole, the pastor who wrote the sign, denies that it is a "hate crime." In doing this, he opens the door even wider for a potential discussion of free speech and community powers (or lack thereof) over potentially offensive speech.

Even in this first report about the sign, however, this does not appear to be the specific conflict frame the reporter prefers. In spite of two references (one near the beginning, one near the end) to the inability for censorship of the message, this is not what holds most of the story together, and it is not what drives the second story. Much of the discussion in both of these is the religious nature of the message and its validity. Though Pastor Cole and Mayor Steve Rhodes both make reference to civil liberty issues related to the sign, both also are called upon to make reference to the religious significance thereof. In addition, two other individuals are specifically named in the story. The latter two delve into the theological message of the reader board as well.

Mayor Rhodes and the other two respondents all present a view that Cole's sign is off-based. The first to respond is a community member who was among those who registered a complaint with the mayor's office because she was disturbed upon seeing the message. The source of her disturbance was that in spite of being "a religious person," she felt the message was "over the top." The next respondent continued this line of thought, but gave more specificity to her complaint about the religious nature of the message. This respondent is listed as coming from a traditionally Muslim country. Her sense is that "brotherhood and peace are foundations of both Christianity and Islam" and that the pastor's message ignores this and is hateful. Finally, Mayor Rhodes is called upon again, but not to give an account of the legal ramifications of the sign—something one might expect from a formal representative of the city. He is one more community member who feels the religious message of the sign is not true to religion. In this case, he says, the message is not very Christian.

The progression here is rather interesting. The first respondent suggested that the sign failed to meet criteria for civility in "religion" broadly defined. No reference is made to any specific branch of religion. The next respondent suggested that the sign is not true to the tenets of three widely recognized western religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Finally, the third respondent narrows this more and suggests that the message is not true to Cole's own faith of Christianity. Cole himself is then left to respond.

Given the numerical representation in the previous paragraph, a person investigating this coverage from a quantitative perspective might find what was just described to be very biased. Three critics of the sign are presented. Only one defender of the sign (Cole) is. But framing analysis is not quantitative content analysis. What matters here is how the story is presented. And one must admit that the story maintains consistency at this juncture. The three challengers all discussed the religious appropriateness of the sign. Cole is allowed to respond based on his religious convictions. In fact, Cole is given the opportunity to quote chapter and verse from religious scripture. And this is consistent with the frame presented by the three interviewees immediately before Cole in the story. Each of those individuals had a religious interpretation of the news.

It is only when Cole *finishes* his religious interpretation that the religious frame is lifted and another applied. In the process, an odd twist occurs. After explaining the scriptural bases for his message, Cole claims that he is "responsible to sound the alarm to God's people." Immediately following this, the reporter brings Mayor Rhodes back into the picture, as the mayor says, "Those who *are* alarmed by the message can complain"(emphasis mine). Rhodes is suggesting not that God's people will hear Cole's message—the message that the spirit of Islam is the spirit of the anti-Christ—and be alarmed when persuaded by that message. Instead, Rhodes is suggesting that God's people will be alarmed that Cole would present such a message in the first place. After all, the appropriate reaction for alarmed readers—according to Rhodes—is to complain. What the reporter is subtly hinting at is that those who have complained are legitimately God's people.

Rhodes' comment also serves another purpose, the purpose of reviving the free speech frame. He claims the sign violates no laws. He trumpets the freedom we have to say what we think. The reporter immediately moves the focus back to Cole, who is very happy to say what he thinks and appears unfazed by some negative reaction to his views. The concluding comment suggests Cole's recalcitrance, along with the possibility of a follow-up story.

Perhaps as a result of the initial story—or perhaps because of their pastor's recalcitrance—some members of the church threatened to picket Sunday morning services. This provided an apt starting point for the second story about the case. Of interest here is that the threat of a picket appears to have been enough to warrant a second story, even if little new information was provided therein. The frame for the second story is, like the first, a frame of conflict. Unlike the first story, where two facets were presented (free speech facet, religious facet) the conflict in the second is presented in the first sentence rather uni-dimensionally. It is sustained as the focus of the story to the end. The focus this time is completely religious, with no implications suggested for free speech issues.

In many ways, in fact, the second story presents the event as an internal church dispute, a conflict that has little connection to those outside of the church. The lead sentence of the story begins with "some church members," and after describing the sign itself, the story suggests that disapproval has been manifest among "long-time church-goers." This is quite different than in the first story where the "flurry of controversy" was connected with "passersby." In the second story, all individuals mentioned specifically have some direct connection with the church. The most distant of these is a person who was a "former church member."

Given the internalized religious conflict that is indicated by the previous two paragraphs, one might expect that the second of the two stories would provide a deeper level of religious analysis of the sign and its meaning. Oddly, this was not the case at all.[4] The second story barely brushed the surface of the religious dimensions of the reader board controversy. Two current members of the church are quoted in regards to their displeasure with the sign. Part of their concern appears to be the image of the church in the community. Such concern is, of course, based on a perception that the sign is in some ways unpalatable. Specifically, these members feel the sign ignores the fact that there "is good and bad in every faith, every race, creed and color," as one of the members stated it.

In contrast to this perspective, Pastor Cole and one other member of the congregation are allowed to present their point of view. Again, their statements do not provide great theological insight. Cole is quoted as saying that the sign reflects the "truth of the gospel and what the Quran says about itself." The church member who supports Cole's use of the reader board simply says it is "time for the real believers, the Christian believers, to stand up."

Where the first story provides some discussion about Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, this one provided none. Where the first story provided a scriptural reference to give readers a sense of the source of the pastor's ideas, this story provided none. The end result is a conflict story in which the reader is lead to believe those involved will never settle their differences.

Perhaps with that in mind the reporter ended on the bizarre note of a "former church member" who had previously been in charge of the reader board. Appearing at the end as some form of compromise between the two sides, this individual says that he would not have put up the message Pastor Cole did. The explanation for his rejection does not settle matters though. In continuing, he states that, "All I ever put up was God's word." Upon hearing this, the reader realizes that the various people in the two stories would probably disagree vehemently on what constitutes "God's word." And, even if they could agree, some segments of God's word might still be offensive to passersby.

The Case of the Uncivil Scientist[5]

Of course, the news industry is not exactly bothered when people give offense. When this happens, the ensuing conflict is often very interesting to other members of the community. This is the stuff of which news is made. Another great example of this is the case of the uncivil scientist, in which conflict was again the order of the day.

In some ways the conflict is a bit settled in this news. When the *Idaho Statesman* ran the first story on August 29th, much appears to have already been decided. Farm groups in Twin Falls had already weighed in on the idea of having Jeremy Rifkin speak at the annual success breakfast. College President Jerry Meyerhoeffer and others at the institution had already decided to cancel Rifkin's speaking engagement as a result. The only residual elements were hurt feelings, a few legal/financial wranglings, and perhaps some questions about how to avoid such a mess in the future.

Maybe because of the *fait accompli* nature of this story something more than the broad conflict frame is needed. As in the Wilder story, a free speech frame is used. The lead sentence gives a sense of this in its use of the line "A best-selling author on biotechnology has been dropped" by a college because of the author's views on agriculture. Rifkin, a widely traveled speaker, lets readers know that this situation was a bit unusual and a bit frightening. As in the lead, specific words are used that give a clear sense of the free-speech dimension. "Chilling message" and "censor in the wings" let the reader know what aspects of the story the reporter finds important.

There are also indications of things the reporter finds interesting but not *as* important as the broadest (conflict) and next broadest (free speech) frames. In addition, there are some indications of things the reporter apparently perceived to be of little or no importance. One frame of some importance to the reporter was a frame that questioned the punctuation of the event. Another examined the scenario as a business deal gone bad. Both of these frames can be seen to flow through more than one of the three published stories.

The punctuation question actually runs through each of the three reports. In the first, the issue of punctuation relates to who started the imbroglio and who has the power to end it. Again, the story begins by describing a past event (dropping of the speaker). Next, though, it tries to go backward in time and determine the cause of the conflict. The article leaves the reader wondering who (the college, the speaker, agricultural groups) knew what (what the topic of the speech would be), when. One is left wondering when the college president reconsidered his choice of speaker, when Rifkin considered changing his topic, and when agricultural community members threatened to boycott. Which of these sparked the controversy in the past is far from clear.

Punctuation does not only go backwards, however, it also goes forwards. It is in the forward sense that punctuation runs into the second and third stories on the Rifkin controversy. In these reports, the issue of punctuation relates to the repercussions of the controversy for the future of the success breakfast. Neither of these stories adds much in the way of information to events that already occurred. In the second, a chamber of commerce official is quoted to suggest that the success breakfast would probably still be held, even without a speaker. The third story was extremely brief and announced that such was not the case. Though no information was given on who made the decision and why, the event was eventually canceled.

The final way this news was framed is as a business deal gone bad, or perhaps a relationship spoiled. The main textual element that plays up this frame is the financial remuneration due (or not due) Mr. Rifkin. Clearly this money has nothing to do with the First Amendment principles discussed in relation to the free speech frame. If Rifkin's free speech rights were trampled on, the remedy is to give him the forum he deserves. The $12,000 described at the end of the first story has less to do with this and more to do with a breach of contract. This breach is a significant factor in the second story, even though it is again confused a bit and conflated with the free speech element. As example of this, the lead of the second story says the ACLU has "weighed in" with Rifkin in the controversy. Nowhere does the reporter explain what this means. By the time we finish reading the story, we can only guess that the ACLU has made the argument that Rifkin deserves the money promised in his original contract.

That the sum of the contract is mentioned twice in the three stories leads the frame analyst to wonder what was left out that might have been equally important, perhaps even more important. In this instance, for example, the reporter *could* have devoted more time to detailed discussion of free speech, especially as it applies to colleges and universities. As the ACLU weighed in, perhaps we could have heard what they had to say in regards to important free speech issues. Or, perhaps the college's lawyer could have spoken about the institution's responsibilities to protect its citizens from what some of them might think of as hate speech.

As demonstrated earlier, these issues were at least intimated by references in the first story. One area that received even less consideration was the initial source of confrontation itself, the debate about the beef industry. Though all three of these stories are presumably precipitated by Rifkin's views on this subject, very little is ever revealed about his views. In the first story we are told he "wrote *Beyond Beef*, over potential health, environmental and economic problems associated with the raising and consumption of beef." No other information is given on the nature of this controversy. In the second and third stories, a nearly identical description of Rifkin's book is provided, and in neither is any more information given on the subject matter of the debate which Rifkin could have engaged in if free speech had been encouraged and a business relationship had not fallen apart.[6]

The Cases Compared/Contrasted

In one way, these two stories could be framed quite similarly. Both stories are about individuals who wish to express an opinion that certain community members do not want to hear. Perhaps, even, the community members find the message threatening.[7] In regards to religion, we cannot deny that some members of minority faiths fear for their safety when their faith is compared unfavorably to a more commonly practiced faith. In regards to science, neither can we deny that some workers fear for the security of their jobs—and thus their safety also—when scientists make claims about how they perform those jobs or the products they produce. Cases of uncivil religion and uncivil science thus have common threads.

Those common threads were not readily evident in the news stories presented here, though. In the story about uncivil religion, there was indeed much concern expressed about an unpalatable message displayed by a local pastor. Much of the coverage of this story detailed the dissatisfaction of the community. It was a story about a person who was speaking, but (according to some people) should not have been. In the story about uncivil science things were quite different. The thrust of the story was that a person had been *prevented* from speaking but (according to some people) should not have been thus prevented. These were radically different interpretations.

One way to see this is to compare the leads of the initial stories on each incident. In the case of the uncivil pastor, the background information is presented, and then there is an attributed quote. The opening words of the quote read, "It's inappropriate." *What* is deemed inappropriate is the message of the sign. In contrast to this, we can examine the lead from the case of the uncivil scientist. It follows a similar pattern, but with very different meaning. Again, background information is presented, and then there is an attributed quote. The opening words of the quote read, "I think it's shameful, absolutely shameful." In this story, however, what is being spoken of as shameful is not the message (that the beef industry is detrimental to society) but a community's reaction to the message. What is shameful is that Jeremy Rifkin is not allowed to speak. Hence, in one story the overriding theme is that a wrong has been done by way of open communication. In the other story the message is that a wrong has been done by way of *suspension* of open communication. In this way, at least, uncivil religion is treated very differently than is uncivil science.

This interpretation is supported by other evidence presented here. In the church reader board scenario, much of the ensuing news is about the content of the sign and people's interpretation of the appropriateness of it. Though we might question some of the theological depth of the discussion presented by the commentators, their discussion was indeed about religion and its meaning. People actually talked about the similarities and differences between Christianity and Islam. In the college speaker scenario, no discussion was provided concerning the precise content of the offensive speaker's ideas. We are never given an opportunity to hear one of Rifkin's charges against the beef industry. Neither do we get to hear a community member question the validity of that charge.

Conclusions

In some ways, what was presented immediately above might seem counter-intuitive. In covering a controversy that can be addressed on the basis of scientific facts, the media chose to avoid discussion of those scientific facts. In covering a controversy about a religious dispute, the media chose to allow ample opining on that religious dispute. Some might expect that the media would be very happy to engage in serious debate based on empirical evidence, but reluctant to delve into theological discussion that is presumed to be based on unseen realities.

Mark Silk—whose basic ideas in *Unsecular Media* might seem a bit counter-intuitive to many—would probably not be shocked by this, though. Some of what was observed here fits precisely with what he describes. When one religion attacks another, "not only is it criticized by other religious bodies but the news media also join in, publishing the violations of civil speech and providing a forum for condemnation of the offender" (Silk, 1995, p. 9).[8] Presuming the reader board in Wilder was an attack on Islam, the response was somewhat predictable, from Silk's perspective.

The bigger issue is whether such a response and the specific framing of it are supportive of a religious worldview, which is what Silk claims. Here the evidence is less satisfactory. Part of the difficulty for this position is that when a person of one religion denigrate the religious perspective of another the event is likely to be framed by the media as a simple conflict story. Other conflict stories sit side-by-side with these stories, including those in which one person attacks another by the use of science. Further study needs to be done to determine the extent to which these stories are distinguishable. In this investigation, there were noticeable differences between the two, with the reader board story definitely displaying the full religious debate Silk envisions.

This could, potentially, be seen as supporting a religious worldview, but Berger's insights on plausibility structures and secularization might be just as useful for understanding these issues as are Silk's. One of the difficulties in understanding the religious rebuttal of Jeff Cole's message was the plural nature of that rebuttal. In fact, we should note that one of the individuals who provided counterpoint to the sign was a woman who moved from strongly unified religious culture to the United States. The story reported that she "does not practice any religion presently." For Berger, such a person moved from a culture that had numerous and consistent plausibility structures for religion to another that had numerous (perhaps) but inconsistent plausibility structures for religion. Now she contributes to the pluralization of that culture.[9]

In addition, there was strong evidence here that the media might produce an "internal" pluralization in regards to religion. One interesting finding here was that after the initial story that presented varied interpretations (broadly religious, western religious, Christian) of a religious controversy, a second story was published that treated the issue as an internal dispute. But even in this internal dispute there were tremendously varied interpretations. Again, plausibility structures must be things that produce consistency and strength in views of our knowledge. If they do not, they produce doubt. With enough doubt, religious bodies lose their appeal. This is at least part of the process of secularization.

Lest the reader who feels no affinity for *any* religious body—or religion as a whole—thinks that this is of little importance, we must remember that Berger's theory applies to all knowledge producing systems. As he states it, religious knowledge is especially vulnerable to pluralization because it is by its very nature beyond our own sense experiences (Berger, 1969, p. 36). Any system, then, that works at the level of "faith" can fall victim to mediated pluralization.

Looked at this way we might wonder again why no scientific debate occurred in the uncivil science story and what the results of such debates actually would be. We often think of "science" in an old fashioned sense in which it is the study of "stuff" we can see and experience every day. But much of science is now beyond our vision because it is too theoretical (like quantum mechanics), too technologically dependent (like cloning), or too big (like analysis of the environmental costs/benefits of beef production). In many ways, science has become just as mysterious for us as religion is. Given this situation, why was an uncivil science case treated any differently than an uncivil religion case? Both are potentially beyond the understanding of the common citizen. Debate in both relies heavily on evidence that is not clearly visible to the average citizen. Should one of these fields be off limits for heated media discussion and the other not?

At the level of practice such a question must be answered by reporters themselves. At the level of theory, however, we in the academic world have our own work cut out for us. Much work is yet to be done if we wish to develop a consistent and tenable view of the similarities and differences between religion reporting and other forms. If science and other knowledge systems are becoming more mysterious to the average citizen, might not they also be off limits in regards to "uncivil" discussion some day? Might it be deemed inappropriate for a person to use the media to question another person's scientific perspective? If so, we might wonder if one day a scholar could write, "Science coverage cannot, at least overtly, favor one brand of science over another. It must tread carefully in the presence of articles of faith and maintain a cautious distance from descriptions of natural events."[10] Whether or not we ever reach such a stage, today's task is simply to better understand how religious disputes are covered in the media and if such coverage encourages or discourages religious perspectives on the world around us.

APPENDIX

Uncivil Religion Story 1

11/22/01

A sign outside a Wilder church stirred a flurry of controversy this week, causing passersby to complain about anti-Muslim sentiment.

The church's pastor, who put up the sign Monday, said the message reflects not hatred, but the Gospel. The town's mayor said he finds the sign offensive, but the city cannot censor the view reflected on the sign.

The sign, outside the Crossroads Assembly of God Church, states: "The spirit of Islam is the spirit of the antichrist."

"It is inappropriate. It doesn't reflect the community, and it sure doesn't reflect myself or my council," Mayor Steve Rhodes said, adding that the city has received numerous complaints.

The sign was put up by Pastor Jeff Cole, who has led the church for three years.

"It is not a hate crime against Islam," Cole said. "I have received three complaints, but I have also received calls from pastors of churches from all of the Treasure Valley who support the message."

One of those who complained to Cole was Brenda Paxton of Wilder, who said she felt sick when she passed the sign while driving to work.

"It really disturbed me," Paxton said. "I'm a religious person, but to put something like that up…you are over the top."

Boise resident Azam Houle, who was born and raised in Iran and comes from a Muslim family, had to catch her breath before responding to news of the sign.

"This is a democracy, and they are certainly free to do as they please," Houle said, adding that she could not fathom the reason someone would use such provocative and non-constructive language.

"The statement implies that Islam is the embodiment of the antichrist…to use such terms, especially during this time, is not promoting peace."

Houle believes that both Islamic teachings and Old Testament scriptures in the Bible similarly discus love, brotherhood and peace and are foundations of both Christianity and Islam. Although Houle does not practice any religion presently, she feels strongly that such a statement goes against Christian themes and is "hateful and hurtful."

Rhodes agrees with Houle. "Christianity teaches to love everybody," the mayor said. "To me, that's not what the sign is saying."

Cole, who said he has read the Quran and the Bible extensively, said he draws the sign's statement from the Bible: 1 John, chapter 4, verses 2 and 3.

As written in The New International Version of the Bible, those verses are: "This is how you can recognize the Spirit of God: Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ is coming in the flesh is from God, but every spirit that does not acknowledge Jesus is not from God. This is the spirit of the antichrist, which you have heard is coming and even now is already in the world."

"Why in the world would I keep my mouth shut?" Cole said. "I am responsible to sound the alarm to God's people."

Those who are alarmed by the sign's message can complain, Rhodes said, but that's all they can do, because the sign "is not a violation of any law."

"What makes this country great is our freedom of speech," he said.

Cole said the sign will come down—as part of his standard message-rotating routine—"eventually."

Uncivil Religion Story 2

11/25/01

Some church members at the Crossroads Assembly of God Church in Wilder say they may picket over a church sign displaying an anti-Islam message.

The church moved into the spotlight last week when the message appeared on its reader board. The sign says: "the spirit of Islam is the spirit of Antichrist" in block capital letters.

Although Pastor Geoff Cole said the sign bears an important message, it has generated disapproval from some longtime church-goers.

"There are very few people in the church who agree with it," said Sharon Wilks, a caretaker of the church with her husband Mike.

But at least one member applauds Cole for putting it up.

"I believe it's time for the real believers, the Christian believers, to stand up and be counted," said Muriel Henley, who has been attending Crossroads for about a year.

The Wilkses called Cole after seeing reports last week in the news. They told him it reflects poorly on church members.

"It disgraces the church, the people who go to church here and the community," Mike Wilks said. "There is good and bad in every faith, every race, creed and color."

The Wilkses said they want to try to mobilize church members to picket before church services.

Cole defends the message.

"That sign is based in the truth of the Gospel and what the Quran says about itself," Cole said.

"Former church member Clarence Benigar was in charge of the reader board message until about three months ago.

"I wouldn't have put it up there," Benigar said of the controversial message. "All I ever put up was God's word."

Uncivil Science Story 1

08/29/2001

A best-selling author on biotechnology has been dropped as a keynote speaker after College of Southern Idaho officials learned he might not have good things to say about beef or milk.

"I think it's shameful, absolutely shameful," said Jeremy Rifkin, who was to speak at the Oct. 3 Success Breakfast sponsored by the College and the Twin Falls Area Chamber of Commerce.

College President Jerry Meyerhoeffer said the school did not know about Rifkin's views on agriculture, and a Sunday newspaper article's quotation of Rifkin seemed to threaten he might change his planned topic.

Rifkin is the author of "The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World."

But he also wrote "Beyond Beef," over potential health, environmental and economic problems associated with the raising and consumption of beef.

Farm advocate groups threatened to boycott the breakfast.

Meyerhoeffer said that before contracting for the event, he saw tapes of Rifkin speaking on biogenetics, corporate patenting of genes and other biotech issues which Meyerhoeffer thought would interest local residents.

But he said he as learned more about Rifkin.

"We are an agriculture community," Meyerhoeffer said Monday, adding that local agriculture and the college have had a good partnership.

"I think us bringing him in would be a violation of that, based on what I've read."

The Times-News Sunday quoted Rifkin as saying "now I'll have to rethink" the biotechnology topic, after he heard of opposition to his appearance.

"Meyerhoeffer said that this statement by Mr. Rifkin, if true, would constitute a breach of contract," CSI said in a news release Monday.

"As a result, Rifkin's appearance has been canceled, and the contract is under review by the two organizations and their attorneys."

Rikfin said that in his 30 years of lecturing worldwide, this is the first time a school or community has canceled his speech because of pressure from special interests.

"It sends a chilling, chilling message to students and faculty that the free sharing of ideas is not welcome, and that there always is a censor in the wings," said Rifkin, who added he will seek full payment for the lecture.

Meyerhoeffer said the contract price was $12,000 and the college is negotiating with Rifkin's representatives.

Officials from the Idaho Dairymen's Association and Idaho Cattle Association praised the college and chamber for the decision.

Uncivil Science Story 2
09/02/2001

The American Civil Liberties Union of Idaho has weighed in with an author on biotechnology who was dropped as speaker at the Oct. 3 Success Breakfast.

The event is sponsored by the Twin Falls Area Chamber of Commerce and the College of Southern Idaho, which canceled Jeremy Rifkin's speech at the event, which is mainly a forum for annual community awards.

Rifkin is the author of "The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World."But he also wrote "Beyond Beef" over potential health, environmental and economic problems associated with the raising of cattle and consumption of beef. Farm advocate groups threatened to boycott the breakfast.

College President Jerry Meyerhoeffer said the school did not know about Rifkin's views on agriculture and a newspaper article's quotation of Rifkin seemed to threaten he might change his planned topic.

Meyerhoeffer has said the contract price was $12,000 and the college is negotiating with Rifkin's representatives. Event organizers say they are unsure whether they will have to pay for canceling. Rifkin insists they will.

Kent Just of the Twin Falls chamber said the breakfast will likely go on, even if it lacks a speaker.

"It's pretty well supported every year," he said.

Uncivil Science Story 3
10/21/01

The Chamber of Commerce and the College of Southern Idaho have canceled this year's traditional fall Success Breakfast after leaders of Idaho's cattle and dairy industries protested the planned speaker.

Author Jeremy Rifkin, who was intended to be the speaker, wrote "The Biotech Century: Harnessing the Gene and Remaking the World."

But he also wrote "Beyond Beef," which detailed potential health, environmental and economic problems associated with the raising of cattle and consumption of beef.

The annual breakfast has drawn distinguished speakers to the community for 20 years.

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Endnotes

[1] Two stories were published regarding the reader board. In the first of the stories, the article "the" appeared before the word "antichrist," thus reading, "The spirit of Islam is the spirit of the Antichrist." In the second story, the article was deleted suggesting the sign said, "The spirit of Islam is the spirit of Antichrist."
[2] The word "topoi" is the plural version. A single conception is a "topos."
[3] Matthew 5:43-44 is given for the first, Colossians 3:11 for the second. Some might disagree with Silk's exclusive use of these scriptures and his tendency to ignore others that contradict his point.
[4] Granted, this might be a factor of story length. The second story was noticeably shorter than the first, leaving less room for the more in-depth criticism of Cole's message than the first provided.
[5] My use of the term "scientist" here is not intended to reflect on Jeremy Rifkin's formal academic training—which is in economics. The term is simply meant to contrast a broadly scientific approach to reality (Rifkin's) with a broadly religious approach (Cole's). Admittedly, this distinction is worthy of much discussion.
[6] As for the description of the book in the three stories, it is almost identical. The wording changes only slightly, and in no way that provides information about the nature of Rifkin's thesis.
[7] Certainly one factor that has not been discussed here is the possibility that post-September 11th feelings were a factor in many people's negative reactions to the church sign. One of the news stories made a brief (and subtle) reference to that possibility, but it was not a significant theme in either. I do not want to make light of the fear many Muslims might have felt at this time, but neither do I want to overestimate its importance. Presumably in other cases of uncivil religion people feel threatened even if there are not immediate historical circumstances that might in reality increase the potential physical violence against them.
[8] Silk does not describe what constitutes an "attack." Further research in this area should probably clarify the boundaries of such.
[9] Again we should note that Berger's descriptive approach is very non-judgmental and pluralization is not necessarily thought of as a bad thing by one who claims to be a sociologist of knowledge.
[10] This is a near quote of Silk's description of the way the media treat religion. I've simply replaced the word "religion" and related terms with "science" and related terms.

Portrayal of Religion in Reality TV Programming:
Hegemony and the Contemporary American Wedding

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Accepted for presentation by the
Religion and Media Interest Group of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
2002 AEJMC convention, Miami, FL

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Portrayal of Religion in Reality TV Programming:

Hegemony and the Contemporary American Wedding

Abstract

The authors examined the treatment of religion in reality TV programming, namely, The Learning Channel's "A Wedding Story," by conducting a content analysis of 85 recently aired episodes. Results support a hegemonic portrayal regarding religion: most weddings were somewhat religious, Christian, held in a church, involved traditionally worded vows and few religious rituals, and included mention of the word "God." The authors discuss the program's potential to provide viewers with more diverse religious portrayals.

Portrayal of Religion in Reality TV Programming:
Hegemony and the Contemporary American Wedding

Media scholars who study religion consider and often cite the United States as the most religious of the world's major Western industrial countries (Orwig, 1998; Hoover & Wagner, 1997). Yet, simultaneously, they have noted that religion has remained absent from mainstream American media (Hoover & Wagner, 1997). Two major reasons offered for religion's absence from the mainstream news and entertainment programming include (1) the private nature of religion in American social life, in that people in general tend to keep their religious beliefs to themselves to avoid embarrassing or offending others (Orwig, 1998), and, more relevant to the study of religion in the mass media, (2) the tendency of the media industry to avoid controversy whenever possible so as not to risk losing readers or viewers.

Regarding the treatment of religion as a topic in the broadcast media, Hoover and Wagner (1997) outline three broad categories under which US radio and television have historically: (1) commercialized religious broadcasting, or televangelism; (2) "sustaining time," which falls under the "public service" rubric, such as national or local programming produced with the cooperation of one or more religious groups; and (3) formal, commercial broadcast content, including both news and entertainment. Hoover and Wagner trace religion's absence in the mainstream broadcasting to its early history, when "broadcasting achieved a construction of religion that allowed it to be treated at the margins, rather than at the center of broadcast content." This treatment by media reaffirms, according to Hoover and Wagner, the "basic problem religion has faced in entering public discourse in general" (p. 21). Reflecting Hoover and Wagner's sentiment, Buddenbaum, in her 1990 analysis of network news coverage of religion, concluded that the three major networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, did not treat religion news seriously, and coverage of religion in network news did not improve during the decade she studied.

Especially in terms of formal, commercial broadcast content of entertainment genre, television networks have manifested a reluctance, historically, to include religion as a major part of story narratives. This reluctance, based on economic necessity, stems from media organizations' reliance on advertising dollars; the networks and film studios, in trying to reach the largest possible audience, thus avoid religious content so as not to offend various segments of the viewing public (Allen, 1998; Roof, 1997; Gale, 1997; Chetwynd, 1997).

When television programming or films do address religious issues, or particular religions, viewers receive a watered-down, almost generic treatment that poses no real threat or controversy. As Chetwynd (1997), writing from the "Hollywood" perspective through his experience as writer, director, and producer of movies and TV, notes, because programmers want to please all parties, religious themes that do surface are "usually muted, and on the rare occasion that a religious person is depicted (positively), they are less clergymen or women than they are social workers with clerical collars" (p. 133). In addition to economic concerns and the media's goal to keep controversies to a minimum, Gale (1997), also speaking as a writer, producer, and director, offers that TV shows rarely show characters and churches as part of characters' lives because, from a dramatists' viewpoint, depiction of religion offers no drama or conflict. When they do include portrayals of religion, the question arises as to *which* religion they should portray.

Thus, viewers rarely see specific religions or beliefs portrayed on entertainment television, as Roof (1997) reiterates:

> Seldom is religion dealt with as an integrated set of religious beliefs, values, and symbols—that is, as inherited tradition—but is framed more as a moment or encounter arising out of personal experience or crisis (p. 66).

Roof adds that in television, audiences receive "only fleeting insights, glimpses really—into life, healing, spiritual depth, transcendence," and the responsibility to interpret these rests with the viewer, since "an explicit religious script is not provided" (1997, p. 66). Network shows such as "Northern Exposure," "Picket Fences," "ER," and "Chicago Hope" portray quasi-religious treatments of ethical dilemmas, he asserts (1997).

Despite these economically based concerns over controversy, observers and scholars of religion and its presence in mass media contend that religion as a topic of news coverage and subject in television programming has increased in recent years (Orwig, 1998; Johnson, 2000). The increase in religious-themed programming comes with the addition of network news correspondents specializing in religion, and prime time entertainment programming based on religious themes, most notably CBS' "Touched by an Angel" and the WB's "Seventh Heaven," and the creation of a religious-based, family-oriented cable network, PAX-TV. Allen (1998), writing in *National Catholic Reporter*, comments that religiously themed, prime-time entertainment programs of the late 1990s did not depict theological diversity in the US. He characterizes such programming as "feel-good Christianity on broadcast TV and conservative Christianity on cable" (p. 3).

In terms of religious content, media scholars have examined the treatment of religion in prime time programming in general (Johnson, 2000), prime time shows in particular, such as Moore's (1996) analysis of religious themes in an episode of CBS's "Picket Fences," and viewer interpretation of religious images in MTV music videos (McKee & Pardun, 1999). Here, we aim to examine the treatment of religion in a relatively new television genre: reality programming. In particular, we look at the portrayal of religion in a reality-based program that features a social event that often features religion, and specific religious rituals—the wedding. "A Wedding Story," airs on the cable outlet The Learning Channel, and provides viewers with a home-video style glimpse into the weddings of ordinary, "real-life" American couples.

"Media treatment of religion," contends Hoover (1998), "can be seen as a kind of indicator of the broader role and status of religion on the contemporary scene." Similarly, media coverage of religion can provide a picture of how the media view religion, and if they give some religions more credence than others. For example, Breen (1996) conducted a content analysis of newspaper coverage of news stories related to religion, and found that reporting of religious groups as determined mainly by group size: small religious groups and individuals who belonged to them were reported on less frequently, less prominently, portrayed as less law abiding, and were evaluated more negatively, than larger religious groups and their individual members. Breen limited her study to five religious groups (these were considered large groups)—Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, Jewish, and Mormon. She found these denominations received greater prominence from the newspapers she examined.

Though Breen did not specify which "small" groups received the more negative treatment by the newspapers in her sample, her results illustrate a dominant ideology, or hegemonic viewpoint, in how the press, at least in her study, covered news of religion. Those denominations with the most members seemed to hold more legitimacy than others, thus, one could surmise that the newspapers reported a dominant viewpoint, based on dominance in terms of religious make-up of a population (US): that only certain religions, ones most familiar to reporters and readers, receive coverage as legitimate religious entities.

Based on Hoover's assertion that media treatment of religion reflects religion's place in society, our purpose in this study is to assess how a reality-based television program portrays religion, and if such portrayals reflect a hegemonic, or dominant, viewpoint of religion in general and specific religions in particular as viewers receive specific images in the show. Thus, we pose the research question: How does "A Wedding Story" portray religion in its depictions of the modern wedding?

Research has shown that public displays of commitment, such as the wedding, serve to strengthen marital bonds, by creating support networks, shared rituals and memories, a sense of interconnectedness, and maintaining relationships (Canary & Stafford, 1994; Duck, 1994). The "traditional" American "white wedding" arguably serves as the most public display of commitment two people can make. Weddings also serve as ways couples demonstrate their religious beliefs, if any, through the various rituals and artifacts replete in many weddings today. In answering our research question, we hope to add to the current literature regarding media coverage of religion today, and provide the reader with some gauge of the status of religion in modern life. To this end, we will: review the concept of hegemony as it relates to the mass media; provide a brief description of the program "A Wedding Story"; and conduct a content analysis of recently aired episodes to explore the recurrent images, depictions, and overall religious, or non-religious, tone of the show.

Hegemony and the Mass Media

Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of hegemony, a perspective of viewing the political and social order of his native land, during the early 20th century. Simply defined, Gramsci characterized hegemony as "the dominant cultural and political order" (Zompetti, 1997, p. 72). Cloud (1996) refers to it as "the process by which a social order remains stable by generating consent to its parameters through the production and distribution of ideological texts that define social reality for the majority of the people" (p. 117). Mumby's (1987) take on hegemony essentially echoes these definitions, as it "involves the production of worldview, inclusive of a philosophical and moral outlook, that is actively supported and articulated by subordinate and allied groups" (p. 48).

The dominant order, as Lears (1985) points out, involves not a simple model based in a single, monolithic, and pre-devised superstructure, but "a complex interaction of relatively autonomous spheres (public and private; political, cultural, and economic) within a totality of attitudes and practices" (p. 571). While hegemony allows for the existence of alternative viewpoints, these lesser-heard or marginal voices get "drowned out" by those presented more often. With this in mind, Condit (1994) sees hegemony as the results of "concordance." Rather than a purposive, deliberate process by those in power (government, institutions, media), Condit interprets hegemony as a result of the most-heard voices or viewpoints within pluralism: "the hegemonic perspective assumes that there must be something universal (or at least general) in any successful claim in order for a wide variety of groups to identify with it" (p. 219).[1]

Hegemony develops through what Hall (1977) terms "the agencies of superstructures—the family, education system, the church, the media, and cultural institutions…" (p. 333). Thus, hegemony finds its strength not in the state in and of itself, but in basically all facets of society, and the mass media serves as a significant means to disseminate hegemonic values (Artz & Murphy 2000; Gitlin, 1980). As a conduit for these dominant values, Gitlin (1987) points out that the culture industry, of which the mass media serves as an element, takes into account "popular aspirations, fears, and conflicts" and addresses them "in ways that assimilate popular values into terms compatible with the hegemonic ideology" (p. 243).

Researchers have used hegemony to examine the current study's topic of reality-based programming of weddings—one examined weddings as a recorded social event, and one looked at reality television programming. Lewis (1992) investigated the hegemonic messages contained in wedding photography practices and products, and found that the maintenance of a status quo that promoted traditional gender roles. Specifically, Lewis found that photographic poses of brides and grooms in his sample demonstrated a hegemony reflecting societal expectations of femininity for women, and the acquiescence and acknowledgement of male-based power.

Regarding the reality TV genre, Consalvo (1998) examined the show "Cops" to see how it portrayed the issue of domestic violence. She found, using Condit's (1994) interpretation of hegemony as concordance, that the dominant themes regarding domestic violence maintained a certain status quo as well: incidents of domestic violence were most often told from the point of view of the police. These recurrent, dominant messages (to press charges against the perpetrator, or leave the domestic situation) told from a law enforcement perspective victims, outweighed the voices of women victims (reluctance to press charges against perpetrators, usually husbands or boyfriends, or to leave their homes). In the current study, we examine if and how hegemony exists in the depiction of religion, religious values, and overall religious tone contained within the reality-based program "A Wedding Story."

"A Wedding Story"

A staple of the cable outlet The Learning Channel (TLC), "A Wedding Story" falls under the television genre "reality programming": "programming that draws on the drama of real events and occupations to attract views" (Consalvo, 1998, citing *Broadcasting and Cable* magazine). The series creator, Chuck Gingold, based the show's premise on the appeal of televised royal weddings, notably that of Sarah Ferguson and Prince Andrew (Weiss, 2000;

Barovick, 1999). "A Wedding Story" debuted in 1996. By 1999, 200 episodes of "A Wedding Story" had been produced, and it became one of TLC's most popular shows, with almost a million viewers (Noxon, 1999; Brown, 1999). Its popularity has led to a slew of spin-offs, all in the reality vein, including "A Baby Story," "A Dating Story," "A Makeover Story," and "A Personal Story." These programs make up TLC's daytime programming line up, dubbed "Personal TLC," and focuses on "real people" and their travails (weddings, childbirth, blind dates, making themselves over, and various life struggles).

The 30-minute show features the real-life weddings of everyday American couples, in what Calvert (2000) calls the *video verite* format; viewers essentially eavesdrop on the preparations and subsequent wedding ceremony of the bride and groom. The only narration heard comes from the bride and groom and natural sound from the video footage. It follows a strict narrative presented in segments demarcated by commercial breaks: (1) viewers first listen to the bride and groom, before they are married, separately tell their love story; (2) next comes a segment showing the bride and groom making preparations for the wedding day, such as picking up tuxedos and wedding gowns, rehearsal of the ceremony, and rehearsal dinners; (3) wedding day preparations, during which viewers watch the bride and groom dress for the big moment; (4) a condensed version of actual wedding ceremony itself followed by footage of the reception. The program recruits couples by inviting them to write in, usually during a commercial break during the show. Six to eight weddings are produced each month (Noxon, 1999).

At the time of this writing, viewers can "attend" four weddings each weekday. To answer the research question—how "A Wedding Story" portrays religion—we conducted a content analysis of a month's worth of programs (some 42 hours of programming).

Method

Videotaping of one month's worth of programming--four episodes of "A Wedding Story" each weekday--occurred between Feb. 5 and March 8, 2002, yielding 85 usable episodes, or 42.5 hours (one episode was a repeat; six were lost due to technical difficulties). Copyright dates of the episodes ranged from 1996 (the year of the show's debut) and 2001. Most episodes aired during the videotaping period came from 2001 (26, 31%), followed by 2000 (15, 18%), 1998 (14, 17%), and eight each (11%) from 1996, 1997, and 1999.

The researchers served as coders[2]; we viewed each episode together, and noted the following: demographics (including brides' and grooms' race and age), number of ceremonies (one, or two in the case of dual ceremonies), who escorted the bride, ceremony site, who performed the wedding ceremony, apparent religion of the couple/ceremony, mention of the word "God," mention of the words "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," wording of the vows; exchange of wedding rings, and rituals shown.

We determined age and race of the bride and groom mainly through visual cues. Thus, age and race can be considered only as approximations. In some episodes, brides and grooms mentioned their age or racial heritage. We used the following age categories: 18 to 30, 31 to 40, 41 to 50, and 50 and older. We used the following categories for race: white, Black/African American, Hispanic, Asian, and other (such as Indian, or bi-racial).

We based our determination of the religion of the bride and groom/ceremony on obvious visual clues as well, such as church interior and exteriors of church buildings, clerical uniforms, superimposed graphics that indicated an officiant's title, or on voice-over narratives of bride or groom that indicated their religion. In questionable cases, we consulted the show's credits and/or wedding rehearsal segment. If we could not ascertain any particular religion, or any religion at all, we considered that episode non-discernible or no religion. We used the following categories for noting religion: Protestant (including all discernible Christian denominations not Catholic), Catholic, Jewish, other, dual (for dual ceremonies that included two religions), and non-discernible/no religion apparent. We used the designations Protestant or Catholic to denote Christianity rather than individual denominations under the Protestant "umbrella" in that we believed the overall Protestant label served the purpose of this study, and because of the difficulty in ascertaining particular denomination names.

For wording of wedding vows, we used the following categories: (1) traditional, for those vows we considered familiar and traditional—these were usually repeated, containing traditional phrases such as "love, honor, cherish," "in sickness and in health," "until death do us part"; (2) traditional/nontraditional, for vows, usually repeated, that demonstrated a traditional tone augmented with less traditional phrases, such as when the bride and groom promised to "love, comfort, and honor" each other and "love, honor, and respect you and our marriage"; (3) own vows, for those vows clearly written by the bride and groom to each other.

We noted the presence or absence of rituals included during the wedding ceremony footage in each episode, such as the breaking of glass (common in Jewish weddings), taking of communion or wine, lighting of a unity candle, the giving of coins and tying of lasso (as found in traditional Hispanic weddings), and the placing of crowns on the heads of the bride and groom (such as in Orthodox ceremonies). Other rituals noted included "jumping the broom," found in African-American weddings. We also noted any additional religion-based artifacts featured during each wedding ceremony, such as the chuppah used in Jewish ceremonies.

After viewing each episode, we decided how religious we considered the ceremony.

As a way to gauge an approximate overall religiousness of the weddings in this sample, we used three categories: "not at all" religious, "somewhat religious," and "very religious." We based our evaluations on the overall tone we thought the ceremony conveyed, based on: wording, either that spoken by the ceremony officiant or bride and groom, and inclusion of religious rituals or artifacts. If we heard little or no religious wording, or did not see any rituals, or artifacts, we considered the episode "not at all religious." We considered ceremonies "somewhat religious" if we heard the mention of the word "God," blessings or prayers spoken, and inclusion of religious wording in the vows, for example. We gave the designation "very religious" to episodes that contained stronger religious wording spoken by the officiant (such as "the blood of Jesus Christ") or bride and/or groom (such as a bride vowing to "submit" to husband in "Jesus' name"), or amount of rituals included in the ceremony.

We then submitted data of demographics, ceremony elements, and religiousness to frequency analyses. Percentages and frequencies appear below.

Results

Demographics

Most brides and grooms were white and appeared to be between the ages of 18 and 30. Brides' ages (based on our estimations) were as follows: 71% (60) were 18 to 30; 22% (19) were 31 to 40; 6% (5) were 41 to 50; and 1% (1) was older than 50. Grooms' ages were as follows: 69% (59) were 18 to 30; 25% (21) were 31 to 40; 5%(4) were 41 to 50; and 1% (1) was older than 50.

Regarding brides' race, 72% (61) were white; 17% were Black/African-American; 6% (5) were Asian; 4% (3) were Hispanic; 1% (1) was African American and Asian, and 1% (1) was East Indian. Regarding the race of grooms: 77% (65) were white; 14% (12) were

Black/African-American; 5% (4) were Asian; 1% (1) was Hispanic; 1% (1) was bi-racial (undetermined); 1% (1) was Indian; and 1% (1) was Hawaiian.

Ceremony Site and Bridal Escort

Nearly all the weddings in this sample were conducted in a single ceremony (97%, 82). Three (4%) of the couples were married in two ceremonies: two couples were married in separate Hindu and Christian ceremonies, and one couple had a civil ceremony and a church wedding.

Most weddings occurred in a church (54%, 46), followed in frequency by: outdoors (21%, 18), reception hall (rented spaces such as in a hotel, restaurant, country club) (19%, 16), synagogue (2%, 2), two different sites, such as outdoors and reception hall, for those who had two ceremonies (2%, 2), and wedding chapel (1%, 1).

To attain an overall sense of tradition in the wedding ceremonies in this sample, we noted whether or not brides were escorted into the ceremony. Most brides were (92%, 78), either by their father (66%, 56), mother (5%, 4), both parents (14%, 12), or someone else, such as grandfather, or brother (7%, 6). Only 8% (7) of the brides entered the ceremony alone.

Who Performed the Ceremony

Weddings in this sample were performed most often by a minister (denoting Christian or Protestant denominations) (40%, 34), followed by, in order of frequency: priest (Catholic or Greek Orthodox or Orthodox) (26%, 22); officiant (non-secular, nondiscernible religious affiliation, or people who performed weddings that did not fall into the other categories; we considered as an "officiant" a Native American medicine woman) (22%, 19);); dual, such as rabbi and priest, rabbi and minister, officiant and minister (8%, 7); and rabbi (4%, 3).

Religion

Regarding religions represented in this sample of weddings, most were solely Christian (Protestant, Catholic, or Orthodox) (60%, 51). We found that most of the Christian weddings in this sample (39%, 31) were Protestant, which we ascertained as being Christian, but not Catholic. These encompassed denominations such as Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal, Church of Canada, as well as Christian, with no denomination determined. Next in order of frequency were: non-discernible or non-religious ceremonies (24%, 20), Catholic (24%, 20), dual religions, such as Jewish and Catholic, Jewish and Protestant, or Protestant and Hindu (7%, 6), other religions (6%, 5), and Jewish (4%, 3). Of the other religions depicted in five (6%) of the ceremonies, one was Baha'i, one was Native American, one was Greek Orthodox, one incorporated Buddhism, and one appeared to be Orthodox (though which form was not clear).

Use of Religious Wording

Regarding the use of religious wording, in particular "God" or "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (as an exact phrase), the word "God" was mentioned at some point in the wedding ceremony by at least one of the participants (the person performing the ceremony, bride, or groom) at least one time in most of the episodes (68%, 58). The phrase "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," inferring a Christian persuasion, was mentioned by at least one of the participants at least one time during the ceremony in 64% (54) of the episodes.

Wording of Wedding Vows

The traditional wedding vows, specifically, those used in Western tradition, such as "love, honor, and cherish," "in sickness and in health," and "until death do us part," as described by Burrell (1997), or similar wording, were repeated or spoken by the bride and groom in 60% (51) of the ceremonies we viewed. Some combination of traditional vows and non-traditional wording, such as when a couple repeats vows to respect each others' "hopes and dreams," "disappointments and achievements," or promised "to live together in peace and harmony," for example, were spoken in 24% (20) of the weddings. Couples said or read aloud their own vows in 14% (12) of the episodes. Spoken vows were not depicted in two of the episodes (2%).

Rituals and Artifacts

All but one of the episodes included the depiction of the exchange of wedding rings (99%, 84). We observed some kind of ritual, such as lighting of a unity candle, breaking a glass at the conclusion of the ceremony, or other wedding-related or religious ritual in 39% (33) of the episodes. Most of the ceremonies we viewed included no footage of these types of rituals (61%, 52).

Regarding the kinds of rituals shown in ceremonies of discernible religions, the most popular one shown in Protestant ceremonies was the lighting of a unity candle (included in four episodes) and jumping the broom (in two weddings). Other rituals depicted in ceremonies we ascertained as Protestant included: a rope and veil being tied between the bride and groom, placing of an African "union" blanket on the couple, prayer in African language, passing through an archway during the ceremony, and ringing a church bell (with a frequency of one episode each).

The lighting of a unity candle was the most-often-depicted ritual in the Catholic wedding ceremonies (in four weddings). The placing of a rope or lasso and/or veil on the couple was shown in two weddings. Other rituals shown during Catholic weddings included (with a frequency of one each in this sample): blessing in the sign of the Cross by the priest, prayer to the Virgin Mary, the giving of coins by the bride to the groom, and the receiving of communion and drinking of wine.

Among the Jewish wedding ceremonies, and those that were dual Jewish-Catholic or Jewish-Protestant, the breaking of a glass was depicted the most (in five weddings). A chuppah was shown prominently in four episodes, and the custom of walking around the bride and/or groom was included in two episodes. Other rituals included: the examination of the bride's wedding ring, drinking of wine, and reading of the marriage covenant (each with a frequency of one in this sample).

In the two Hindu wedding ceremonies included in this sample, a variety of rituals and ritual artifacts were depicted. These included: flowered garlands worn by the bride and groom (two episodes), singing (two episodes), and placing a rope around the wedding couple, removing shoes, greeting of guests, eating food, fire, singing, blessing by guests, tying a scarf around the wedding couple, and walking around the wedding couple (one episode each).

In the one Greek Orthodox wedding included in this sample, the following rituals were depicted: bride and groom walking around the altar, the placing of crown on the couple's heads by the priest, lighting of candles, blessing by the priest, and chanting of prayer by the priest. The one wedding ceremony that incorporated Buddhist elements included the rituals of chanting, bell ringing, and drinking tea. The one Baha'i ceremony featured singing, and the one ceremony that was performed by a Native American medicine woman included a smoke "cleansing" and covering of the bride and groom with a blanket.

Of those episodes for which we could not determine religion, two featured the Jewish tradition of breaking a glass at the end of the ceremony, one included jumping the broom, and one included the lighting of a unity candle.

Overall Religiousness

Though a subjective judgement, we endeavored to categorize as accurately as we could the religious tone of each wedding ceremony. We considered most of the 85 weddings we viewed here as "somewhat religious" (57%, 48). "Somewhat religious" weddings included the mention of "God" or "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit," or similar terms and references ("Jesus," or "the Lord," for example), and were often conducted in a church and presided over by a minister or priest. To sum, these weddings obviously were of some kind of religion, but did not convey a deeply religious atmosphere.

We considered 34% (29) of the weddings as "not at all religious." These weddings either were completely devoid of religious references or, if they were held in a church, religious references were not present. The word "God" may have been uttered, but overall these ceremonies contained neither religious phrasing (either in the ceremony itself or in the vows) nor religious rituals.

We saw only eight (9%) of the weddings we analyzed as "very religious." We considered as "very religious" those ceremonies containing strong, as opposed to the perfunctory "God" or mention of God, religious language and/or depiction of more than one or two religious rituals. For example, in one Protestant ceremony, the phrase "the Lord" is repeated several times by the minister, the bride vows to submit to her husband as the "head of this union" and to love him "as Christ loves the church" in "Jesus' name." In another Protestant ceremony, the minister uses the phrases "our Savior, Jesus Christ," "the shed blood of our Savior, Jesus Christ," and "Heavenly Father."

"Very religious" ceremonies also included the depiction of several religious rituals, as well as the mention of "God" (in various forms). Examples included: the Catholic ceremony in which the bride and groom are shown taking communion (this was the one episode of the 85 which showed this religious ritual), the Greek Orthodox ceremony, and one of the Jewish ceremonies which included a number of religious rituals, including breaking the glass, ceremony performed under a chuppah, bride and groom walking around each other, and drinking wine.

Ceremony Elements by Religion

We wanted to examine how the various elements of the wedding ceremonies we viewed related to the religion of the couples. Regarding the presence or nature of these parts of the wedding ceremony according to religious categories (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, dual religions, other religions, and non-discernible/none), we found:

- the word "God" was heard in almost all (97%, 30) of the Protestant ceremonies, in Catholic ceremonies it was heard about half the time (55%, 11), and in non-discernible/no religion ceremonies, "God" was mentioned in 37% (7) of them;
- the phrase "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" tended to be heard more in the Catholic ceremonies (75%, 15), but only in about half (48%, 15) of the Protestant ones;
- regarding nature of the vows spoken, most brides and grooms in Protestant ceremonies tended to repeat traditionally worded vows (71%, 22); all those in Catholic ceremonies (20) used traditional vows; and in those ceremonies we considered as non-discernible or no religion, most couples (63%, 12) used a combination of traditional and nontraditional wording, as opposed to their own vows (21%, 4);
- regarding the inclusion of religious rituals in the depictions of the ceremonies in this sample, we found that for Christian-based ceremonies, both Protestant and Catholic, rituals were absent in the majority of those episodes. Seventy-one percent (22) of the Protestant ceremonies included no such rituals, and 65% (13) of the Catholic ceremonies

included no rituals. However, all three episodes of the Jewish ceremonies included rituals. Ceremonies of those religions we dubbed "other," such as Greek Orthodox, Baha'i, and Hindu, tended to include rituals as well (83%, 5); and

•except for those ceremonies we categorized as non-discernible or no religion, most ceremonies fell under the "somewhat religious" category: 74% (23) of Protestant, 75% (15) of Catholic, 67% (2) of Jewish, 50% (3) of "other religion," and 67% (4) of dual religion ceremonies.

Discussion

We undertook a content analysis of 85 recently aired episodes of the TLC show "A Wedding Story" to examine the portrayal of religion in reality television programming, using a hegemonic perspective. We found a dominant portrayal of weddings on "A Wedding Story" that features young, white couples whose weddings involve the recitation of traditionally-worded vows based in the Christian rite (Burrell, 1997), and reflect a Christian persuasion.

Most of the episodes (60%) manifested Christianity. Most (68%) mentioned the word "God." Ninety-nine percent of the ceremonies included an exchange of rings. A majority (60%) of the couples repeated traditional vows, while only 14% spoke their own, supporting Burrell's claim that "it is the traditional vows that dominate the modern conception of the wedding ceremony" (p. 91).

Because "A Wedding Story" recruits "everyday" couples, and thus bases its content in reality, the religions we observed most often in our analysis reflect the religious profile of the United States today. According to the American Religious Identity Survey, the top five organized religions in the US in 2001 were, in order of adherents: Christianity (159 million), Judaism (2.8 million), Islam (1.1 million), Buddhism (1 million), and Hinduism (766,000). All these top religions were represented in our sample, except Islam ("Largest religious groups," 2002). We also must note that among the 85 episodes of "A Wedding Story," one was conducted in the Native American tradition (ranked number nine, with 103,000 adherents among top US religions) and Baha'i (ranked number ten, with 84,000 adherents).

We found 39% of the ceremonies we viewed to include the portrayal of religious rituals. We attribute the low percentage of religious ritualistic practice to a traditional, dominant ideology (a "generic"-type Christian church wedding), with the occasional inclusion of non-dominant religious customs; the program tended to shy away from showing religious elements or rituals as part of most of the ceremonies. Thus, religious elements, although evident in "A Wedding Story," might not accurately convey the diversity of choices made by couples choosing to include religion in their wedding ceremonies.

Although most of the weddings we viewed occurred in some kind of church (54%), we did not find clear if the choice of ceremony site in any related to the beliefs of the couples. Occasionally, one or both would mention what type of ceremony they planned to have, but the show does not emphasize this aspect of the wedding preparation as much as other pre-wedding activities. In that we considered most ceremonies "somewhat religious" in nature, the church as a wedding site seemed almost a backdrop; these churches tended to have elaborate features, such as high ceilings, colorful, stained glass windows, or large pipe organ.

At this point, we must note, however, that in terms of specific religious rituals such as the taking of communion, lighting candles, stomping on a glass, smoke cleansing, and singing or chanting, only those rituals that one might define as illustrating non-dominant religious affiliations, namely, Native American rituals, Baha'i, and Greek Orthodox, were shown, indeed highlighted, with what seemed as any regularity. We surmise that viewers of this program might already expect the portrayal of religious elements and, therefore, viewers might find the show's focus on out-of-the-norm, "unusual" religions more acceptable in this arena. Thus, the show can highlight religious practices that diverge from the mainstream without the concern for offending the viewing public. Perhaps viewers most likely find these divergent religious rituals unfamiliar because of their more "exotic" nature, thus their inclusion adds to the interest and appeal of the program.

In terms of the placement and time "A Wedding Story" devotes to the wedding ceremony itself, we found religion, its rituals and symbols, as standardized and of secondary importance. We found a notable lack of rituals in most of the Protestant and Catholic ceremonies. This might leave viewers with the impression that these predominant, mainstream religions seldom or never incorporate religious rituals in their marriage ceremonies. For example, celebration of mass was depicted only once in our sample of 20 Catholic ceremonies. Whether or not those rituals actually occurred in these ceremonies remains unknown, but their absence creates the impression that religion might not serve as prominent a part of Catholic weddings, or Protestant ones.

The portrayal of religiosity in this program serves, as a reification of the dominant ideology regarding the treatment of religion in mass media. Because they assume viewers will balk at, and even consider offensive, the overt treatment of any one religion, the media tend to downplay altogether any traditions or elements that might allow the viewing public to define a ceremony as being of one religion or another. In other words, media find it safer to "keep them guessing." Our results regarding the religious aspects of "A Wedding Story" reflect the historic treatment of religion by the mainstream broadcasting industry in that the religious nature of these weddings tended to follow a "middle of the road" motif, as Gitlin (1987) asserts the culture industry conveys, and lends support to notion that the mass media try to avoid controversial (read: religious) issues (Hoover & Wagner, 1997; Roof, 1997; Gale, 1997; Chetwynd, 1997).

In terms of a religious hegemony, the results of this study, which examines daytime reality programming, also supports Miles' (1997) informal observation that prime-time TV devotes most of its "cultural space" concerning religion to conservative Christianity. We found a minimal amount of diversity in religions, and demographics, in our sample. This lack of diversity may simply reflect both the nature of the program, which solicits couples to appear on the show, and the available pool of couples who plan to marry in the near future.

We see two major implications regarding the apparent hegemonic nature of the weddings portrayed in "A Wedding Story." First, because a majority of weddings in this sample (60%) display a Christian influence, viewers may come away from the program with the idea that weddings also must encompass a religious (mainly Christian) aspect. While nearly one fourth (24%) of the weddings in this sample did not overtly display indications of religion, the dominant message holds that the cliché "church" wedding serves as the norm. Second, our findings point to the issue of diversity of religions included in episodes of the program, and the potential that this program offers in terms of its educational power. Whether or not viewers may hold any religious beliefs or want to see religious portrayals in television programming, this particular medium holds the ability to educate audiences about different religions practiced in reality.

Miles (1997) addresses the hegemonic aspects the way prime-time fiction television portrays religions:

> Prime time fiction television would serve religion well if, instead of fearing to offend, it represented religion in America as diverse, complex,

> and, like other aspects of life in the United States at the end of the twentieth century, always in need of critical examination (p. 44).

One can apply her suggestions regarding television's potential as an educational tool to reality-based programming as well. In that "A Wedding Story" serves as a "how-to" guide to weddings for its viewers (Weiss, 2000; Noxon, 1999), it holds the potential to serve as a conduit for what Miles terms "accurate and sympathetic information about religions in America" (1997, p. 43).

The events of Sept. 11, 2001 have brought to the forefront the importance of understanding different religions and their philosophies. Television programming such as "A Wedding Story" might serve as the ideal venue to introduce non-dominant religions and ideals because viewers might be more accepting of alternative views and religious practices in this non-threatening context. This depends, of course, on the practicality of videotaping the wedding ceremonies of different religions (Mormon weddings, for example, disallow a public aspect; only members of a certain status may attend). The reality television genre, and "A Wedding Story" in particular, need not overtly or with a heavy hand fulfill this educational role, but its producers might actively attempt to incorporate a wider inclusiveness regarding the religions of the couples featured on the show.

Conversely, in that we could ascertain no religious elements or religion in almost a quarter (24%) of the weddings we viewed, this type of program also can convey to its viewers that their weddings, should they choose to marry in the first place, need not necessarily include a religious quality. If couples do not hold religious beliefs, for example, inclusion of more non-religious weddings could remove the pressure for them to conform or follow traditional religious practices even when they have no real place or personal meaning in their lives. In considering alternative marriage ceremony formats, couples may be able to publicly communicate to each other vows which stem from their own ideals, rather than following the familiar, dominant script that may not fully express their thoughts and feelings regarding their commitment.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

While we consider our sample as fairly representative of "A Wedding Story" in general, we analyzed one month's worth of programming, rather than one year, or several years' worth of shows. Additionally, "A Wedding Story" serves as only one example of reality-based programming that includes a religious element, and one example of a variety of reality-based wedding programs that have recently joined the television programming milieu. Other such shows include "Weddings of Lifetime," which airs infrequently on the Lifetime network, and a series of wedding-related shows on the Fox network, such as "Will You Marry Me?" (in which women propose to their unsuspecting boyfriends), and the infamous "Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?" (no comment necessary).

Regarding method, our initial coding rubric concerning the overall religiousness of the episodes we viewed demarcated the concept "religiousness" into three categories. As we conducted our content analysis and began to view a greater number of episodes, we found that a sliding scale, incorporating more degrees of this construct (such as a scale of one, indicating no religion at all, to five, indicating a high degree of religiousness) might better reflect the overall way the program depicts religious elements.

Additionally, we suggest that future research along this vein consider the spirituality of wedding ceremonies, as opposed to religiousness, which might limit the ways in which people express their beliefs regarding these concepts. In addition to including what we considered religious elements, ceremonies that do not fall under familiar, commonly categorized "religions" may indeed incorporate elements of spirituality.

We see several ways to further investigate religion in "A Wedding Story." These include interviewing couples who appear on show to examine how religious they really are and how important they consider religion as part of their wedding, how much editing of wedding ceremonies occurs, to what degree the show's producers consider religion in making their decisions regarding choosing couples to appear on the program, and how its fans and religious experts (clergy persons, rabbis, and others) view the program's portrayal of religion.

Future researchers might investigate other aspects of homogeneity regarding the American wedding of today and their connection to religion, including heterosexism (for example, all couples on "A Wedding Story" are heterosexual), gender role portrayals in religious leadership (we observed only a handful of female officiants and ministers, for instance), and gendered language of wedding ceremonies and its relationship, if any, to specific religions or denominations (such as the use of "man and wife" vs. "husband and wife"). Such inquiry into a genre of programming that purports to show its viewers "real life" offers us, as media scholars, a rich array of ways to document not only the role of religion in the mass media, but also how our society communicates ideals of love, commitment, and faith.

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Notes

[1] For more on the debate concerning hegemony as dominant ideology or concordance, see Condit (1994) and Cloud (1996), both in Critical Studies in Mass Communication.

[2] As noted in the text, observations and designations regarding religious aspects (religion recorded) of ceremonies were based on our best estimates. The researchers can be considered laypersons: one is a practicing Lutheran; the other has no religious affiliation, but was raised as a Catholic.

ARE DISABILITY IMAGES IN ADVERTISING BECOMING BOLD AND DARING? AN ANALYSIS OF PROMINENT THEMES IN U.S. AND UK CAMPAIGNS

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ARE DISABILITY IMAGES IN ADVERTISING BECOMING BOLD AND DARING? AN ANALYSIS OF PROMINENT THEMES IN U.S. AND UK CAMPAIGNS

Advertisements featuring people with disabilities have become more prevalent in the United States and Great Britain in the last decade. Although these images do not dominate advertising in those countries, they are there and are becoming more visible in print and on television. The focus of this article is to qualitatively analyze a selection of these recent advertisements to understand the ways in which disability images in advertising educate the two societies about people with disabilities. Although this is a content study, not an audience study, much research has confirmed the persuasive power of advertising in most developed countries. Advertisements persuade "through their symbolic articulation of a society's ideas and desires" (Hogan, 1999). They encapsulate the values central to a capitalist society, that of consumption (Schudson ,1984). Disability, like ethnicity, gender and national identity (Hall, 1992, Hogan, 1999) is one of the many areas advertising helps to construct for a society. In this article we argue that it plays a major role raising public awareness of disabled people.

Therefore, these images of disability in advertising are sending an array of messages to consumers. Are these images "bold and daring" as a recent Doritos corn chip TV ad campaign concluded about an amputee with a winning basketball style? Or are the ads reminiscent of past images of pitiful, tragic people or "Supercrips?"

A few studies have undertaken quantitative content analyses of advertising images of disability (Ganahl, 2001; Ganahl & Arbuckle, 2001; Ganahl & Kallem, 1997), but these have only served to illustrate the inefficiency of quantitative methods in trying to analyze such a tiny segment of advertising content. Advertising messages that feature disabled people[1] do exist, but they are still a minute segment of images, so are difficult to unearth. For this research, we allowed the uniqueness of disability images in advertising to guide our methodology. Simply, because it is still "news" when an advertiser chooses to use a person with a disability in an ad, articles in the business press directed us to many of the most recent examples of advertisements that use disability images. In addition, groups in the UK have begun pushing for more disability images in advertising. In 1999 the Leonard Cheshire charity in the UK created a VisABLE campaign to try to find disabled models and encourage British companies to use them in ads (VisABLE, 2000). A number of the advertisements created by these companies were available for analysis as well.

Previous research (Haller & Ralph, 2001) showed that advertisements that use disability images have moved away from past pity narratives of charity and that modern images seem to show disabled people's integration in society, as part of business decisions to feature more diversity. Therefore, this paper will analyze the current messages and themes imbedded within advertisements that feature people with visibly apparent disabilities. The goal is to investigate whether advertising images are remaining static in their messages (focusing solely on integration) or are expanding their messages to show a variety of disability images.

Literature Review

Past research illustrated the motivations of businesses to incorporate disability images into their advertising were due to a capitalistic desire for profits and a goal to better represent the diversity of the U.S. or British societies (Haller & Ralph, 2001). As one British marketing official explained, good disability images and well-done advertisements are designed to promote brand loyalty and make a product more popular (VisABLE video, 2000). Advocates for people with disabilities in United States have been trying to educate businesses about the "disabled consumer market" for a number of years (Jones, 1997). In the new millenium, advertisers are realizing that disabled people buy soap, milk, socks, jewelry, makeup, home improvement goods, use travel services, live in houses, and enjoy nice home furnishings. There is even some evidence that the disabled consumer is much more brand loyal than other consumers (Quinn, 1995).

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[1] This paper will use the preferred terms for both the United States (people with disabilities) and the UK (disabled people).

British companies were still more hesitant to include disabled people in their advertisements due to both different advertising methods and societal attitudes. Although print ads are just as frequent in British publications, ads on British television are much less prevalent and more restricted than in the United States, where about 12 minutes of each half hour of commercial TV are advertisements. In the UK "the total amount of spot advertising in any one day must not exceed an average of nine minutes per hour of broadcasting" (ITC, 1998, p.1). In addition, many British companies did not use disabled people in ads even as late as the mid-1990s because of fears that they would be misidentified as a charity, that they would be seen as exploitive, or that they would accidentally create an offensive ad. For example, in 1990 a Fuji TV ad for film on British television that featured a man with learning disabilities being "improved" by a photograph of him smiling at the end was criticized by disabilities scholar Michael Oliver for its "medical model" approach (Deakin, 1996). The TV ad was interpreted as the Fuji film offering a type of "cosmetic surgery" on the disabled man through the advertisement. Because of this early faux pas, "disability is still an area in which few advertisers dare to deal" in Great Britain (Deakin, 1996, p. 37).

In both countries, new disability rights legislation, the U.S. Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Work Incentives Improvement Act (WIIA) and the UK Disability Discrimination Act, has given the business communities more awareness of disability issues in those countries. Some policy analysts actually called the ADA a mandate for marketers to begin to recognize the formerly invisible disabled market and some disability advocates tell businesses that another definition of the ADA is "Additional Dollars Available" (Stephens and Bergmann, 1995). For example, in the United States, 48.5 million disabled people who are age 15 and over had an estimated total discretionary income of $175 billion (Prager, 1999, Dec. 15). In the UK, there are 6.5 million disabled people who represent a £33 billion market, which will continue to increase (Deakin, 1996).

In the United States, the business community began recognizing the importance of using disability images in advertising early in the 1980s. Early disability rights legislation such as the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which required all federal programs and structures to be accessible and was finally being enforced by the early 1980s, began to build more societal awareness of the disability community (Shapiro, 1993). In addition, the independent living movement, which gave disabled people educational and employment opportunities, began in the early 1970s and gave disabled people more visibility in society (Shapiro, 1993). Longmore says that when TV ads with disabled people began, it illustrated that advertisers no longer feared that "nondisabled consumers will be distressed or offended" (1987, p. 77). Finally, in 1980 closed captioning began on U.S. television, so the medium became more accessible to deaf people (Lipman, 1990 Feb. 28).

The first TV ad for a commercial product said to feature a disabled person was in a 1984 Levi's ad in which a wheelchair user popped a wheelie (Kaufman, 1999). However, McDonald's restaurant chain claims to have been including wheelchair users in general shots of customers in TV ads since 1980. But its first TV ad to feature a disabled person was in 1986 when it depicted college-age deaf students discussing going to McDonald's in sign language (Dougherty, 1986). However, at this point in commercial advertising images, the company still thought ads with disabled people should be directed at other disabled people and that these type of ads built "good will" (Dougherty, 1986). Deaf people became a popular disability group to depict in TV ads and by 1990 Crest, Citibank, and Levi's had all used deaf actors. In fact, AT&T capitalized on the Academy Award winning actress Marlee Matlin's fame by using her in some ads. By 1990, the National Captioning Institute reported more than 200 advertisers were captioning their ads, resulting in 2,600 closed-captioned TV spots (Lipman, 1990 Feb. 28).

Wheelchair users became the other prominent category of disability in early U.S. commercial advertisements. After Levi's TV ad, companies such as Citicorp banks, Apple computers, Pacific Telesis, Nissan auto company, and Target stores had all featured wheelchair users in TV or print ads by 1991(see Table 1). Target general merchandise stores became somewhat of a pioneer in print ads using adults and children with disabilities in their sales circulars that went to 30 million households in 32 states (Sagon, 1991 Dec. 19). Target's vice president of marketing said their use of disabled people in their ads was so successful that they can actually point to specific products that sold much better because they were modeled by a disabled person (Goerne, 1992). In addition, the early campaign that depicted children with disabilities lead to 1000 supportive letters and "has been the single most successful consumer response we've ever gotten," according to the VP of marketing (Sagon, 1991, p, B10). Target then expanded its disability images past wheelchair use to children and teens with Down syndrome, leg braces, and artificial limbs.

From the 1990s on, many of the advertisements featuring disabled people were accepted and considered non-stigmatizing. However, one major controversy arose in 1993, which illustrated how disabled and nondisabled people interpreted the images differently. Dow Chemical's Spray 'N Wash Stain Stick for laundry ran a TV ad using a child with Down Syndrome. The ad begins: "Halley has made my life very exciting. She's very affectionate, and she is very active. We use Stain Stick. . .because the last place we need another challenge is the laundry room" (Goldman, 1993, Sept. 3 p. B8). The ad used no professional actors but a real mother and daughter from Atlanta, Georgia, found through a connection to the National Down Syndrome Congress. The Down's group applauded the final ad and gave it a media award. However, an *Advertising Age* writer called the ad exploititive, "appalling," and "the most crassly contrived slice-of-life in advertising history""(Goldman, 1993, Sept. 3, p. B8). Dow's toll-free telephone line contradicted this opinion with 700 calls, all positive except for seven calls.

Britain has been much slower to incorporate disabled people into their commercial advertising. "The UK commercial advertising is 10 years out of date, with disabled people excluded or, worse, ridiculed and stereotyped in advertising," the industry reported (Levy, 1990, p. 29). A few British companies featured disabled models in past years, but they were rare and usually from a U.S. company. On British TV, the first disabled person in a British TV ad was in

1990 – for Fuji film – and later that year, Saatchi and Saatchi produced a Burger King restaurant ad for children with a cartoon character who used a wheelchair. In fact, only in 2000 did a concerted effort begin with the VisABLE campaign to try to find disabled models and encourage British companies to use them in advertisements.

What British companies feared about disability images in advertising was an association with the prevalent charity advertising of the past. Historically, most images of disability in advertising have been from charity organizations, rather than commercial businesses. For example, in the UK in the 1980s, charity advertising was "a growing competitive industry," according a 1989 industry report (Scott-Parker, 1989). At this time, disabled people were the largest minority group in Great Britain, and the top 18 spending disability-related charities got advertising worth more than £4.24 million in 1988 (Scott-Parker, 1989). Similar to the kind of demographic research done for commercial advertising, the charities undertook copious amounts of research to create profiles of the people most likely to give to the disability charities (Lonsdale, 1994). This set the current research standard for today's charities, which employ professional advertising agencies such as BMP DDB Needham, who produced the award-winning multiple sclerosis campaigns (BMP DDB Needham, 1993). The reason charity advertising was expected to grow even more as an industry was because charity advertising became legal on British television in 1990 (IBA, March 1988).

These charity images made British businesses reluctant to use disabled people in commercial advertising. As Rupert Howell, of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, said on British TV's "Tonight" program (Granada TV, 2000) when asked about incorporating disabled people into British advertising: "In the end you have to remember that our job is to sell products for our clients, not to put right the wrongs of the world."

In the United States, charity advertising was a separate entity from commercial advertising and included programs such as telethons and promotional ads from "helping" societies such as Easter Seals, the Multiple Sclerosis Society, and Paralyzed Veterans of America

American consumers seemed to more readily distinguish between the use of disabled people in charity advertising from commercial advertising; however, in the early days of commercial advertising's use of disabled models, there was concern about exploitation because disabled people had been associated with charity only. However, after numerous years of criticism by disability rights advocates, telethons have fallen in numbers and many stations have even dropped them, and other charity organizations have re-tooled their promotions to be less stigmatizing. But it should be noted that there is still an underlying sense of altruism when commercial companies used disabled people to advertise products. Advertising researchers Burnett and Paul say that trying to attract disabled customers helps companies "meet important social responsibilities," as well enhance the consumer base (1996, p. 15).

Methods and Messages

Qualitative assessment is a rich and context-based analysis of content. It helps reveal the media frames and themes that are being used to characterize disabled people. This qualitative analysis allows us to look at what themes are appearing in recent advertisements featuring people with disabilities. Christians and Carey say that a mission of qualitative studies is to better understand the interpretations of meaning that take place in media texts. The goal is to find out "what are the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life?" (Christians and Carey, 1981, p. 347). As Altheide says, this type of analysis documents and illuminates the communication of meaning between the media text and a culture (1996). This is crucial with regards to ads featuring disabled people because both the United States and Britain are trying to shift to become more inclusive societies.

Advertisements lend themselves perfectly to a qualitative approach, because of the interplay between visual images, words, and the overt persuasive message involved. The qualitative approach is more reflexive and oriented toward narrative description (Altheide, 1996).

"Qualitative approaches examine meaning production as a process which is contextualized and inextricably integrated with wider social and cultural practices" (Jensen, 1991, p. 4).

In specifically looking at visual images, Knoll (1987) has developed 83 interpretive categories for use in assessing the photos of disabled people in a qualitative way. Based on Knoll's criteria, one might look for whether the person with a disability is shown as a charity case in the advertisements or whether the people with disabilities are being shown as "one of the gang," interacting equally with others. In 2001, Rosemarie Garland Thomson proposed a taxonomy of visual rhetorics of disability: the wonderous (represented by Supercrip images), the sentimental (represented by telethon and charity images), the exotic (represented by early freak photography), and the realistic (represented by documentary photography). She says that "the conventions of realism govern the images of disabled figures in the world of commerce, the visual component of which is advertising. . . .contemporary advertising casts disabled people as simply one of the many variations that compose the market to which they appeal" (Thomson, 2001, p. 368).

But before analyzing the selected ads, it is important to contextualize a societal understanding of disability images within advertising. Historically, advertising's emphasis on beauty and bodily perfection led to exclusion of disabled people in the images, disability studies scholar Hahn said (1987). Also, the nondisabled audience members' fears of becoming disabled and viewing images of disability meant businesses were hesitant to used disabled people as models. Hahn says that disabled people's "inability" to ever fit within a context of beautiful bodies rendered them invisible. He explains that advertising promotes a specific "acceptable physical appearance" that it then reinforces itself. These advertising images tell society who is acceptable in terms of appearance and that transfers to whom is acceptable to employ, associate with, communicate with, and value.

However, Hahn saw signs of hope in changing societal perceptions of disabled people through advertising and other forms of mass communication. He cites many historical examples in which societal perceptions of physical appearances/attributes change over time. Therefore, in the modern understanding of diversity as a profitable undertaking for businesses, the cultural meaning of disability imagery in advertising has been changing for the better (Haller & Ralph, 2001). As Hahn predicted, some social attitudes changed, and advertising that features disabled people became associated with profitability because of the audience's desire to see "real life" in images. For example, Dickinson (1996) reported that both households with (49%) and without a disabled person (35%) valued accurate advertising images of disabled people and were likely to buy products and services that showed sensitivity to disabled people's needs.

In terms of advertising in Great Britain, the process of integrating disabled people in advertisements has only occurred in the last several years. UK Secretary of State for Education and Employment, David Blunkett, said that Cheshire's VisABLE campaign was "a lead we should all follow" and that government departments would be encouraged to use more disabled people in their advertising (1999, p. 5). The campaign, which coincides with the government initiatives to raise awareness about disability issues and the implementation of the Disability Discrimination Act, was created in conjunction with the National Disability Council (Stirling, 2000).

After an analysis of U.S. advertising practices using disabled people and a National Opinion Poll in the UK, Britain found its citizens open to inclusion of disabled people in advertising. One article in *The Guardian* explained how the VisABLE campaign followed some U.S. companies lead: "there's concrete evidence from the U.S. of the commercial effectiveness of the enlightened approach," mentioning Target stores' pioneering approach to including disabled people (Hilton, 1999 May 30). The VisABLE campaign did not ask advertising firms to spend money but just to plan their campaigns to include disabled models. In order to do this, businesses needed access to disabled models. Leonard Cheshire Charity launched a modeling competition as part of the campaign and attracted 500 disabled entrants. Rosemary Hargreaves, press and public relations officer for the charity, said, "ad agencies and businesses claim there are no disabled models available, so we set out to challenge this perception by finding a pool of disabled models" (Stirling, 2000, p. 11).

Based on this growing number of disabled people in advertisements in America and the UK, this study sought examples of ads that appeared from 1999 to 2002. As reported, the advertisements were found primarily based on a review of articles in U.S. and UK business publications. Additional ads were found through the U.S. disability community, whose publications and Internet sites discuss ads that feature people with disabilities, and through the British VisABLE campaign. Research using this method was fruitful, finding 71 TV ads, 28 print ads, 4 radio ads, and 1 film ad featuring disabled people between 1984 and 2002. Table 1 lists all the ads found. Access to the advertisements is another issue in this kind of study, so those listed in Table 1 could not be selected randomly. The recent ads chosen were for one of two reasons. First, if the ad could be found via corporate web sites, in print publications, or as a collection of an interested disability group. (For example, the American Foundation for the Blind in New York has collected a number of ads that feature blind people.) Secondly, the ads were chosen due to notoriety about the advertisement in the disability community or in society in general.

From a qualitative standpoint, this allowed for an analysis of the societal discussion surrounding specific ads featuring a disabled person. A limitation of the study, however, is that any local ads and some national ads may be missed in this method of selection. The goal, however, is not to quantify the ads but to critically analyze how people with disabilities are being used and what themes can be found in the selected ads. For each of the 11 ads selected, each is transcribed, the theme is assessed and discussion and analysis is presented.

Analysis of selected ads using people with disabilities: USA

Cingular Wireless

Description: The ad, which aired during the 2001 Super Bowl, begins with an image of artist Dan Keplinger painting on a canvas on the floor with a paintbrush in his headstick. Religious choral music plays in the background throughout. The advertisement mimics the communication style of the Academy Award-winning documentary featuring Keplinger by having courier typeface captions at the bottom of the screen for Keplinger's words. Caption one says: "There is an intelligent person inside this body. Caption two says: "Art gives me a way to express myself." The ad flashes to more shots of Keplinger continuing to paint with his headstick and then to a head shot of Keplinger in front of one of his paintings, making it clear they are self portraits. Caption three, which is under a split shot of Keplinger painting and his brush alone moving on the canvas, says: "Most people think 'gimp' means lame walk." Caption four then says: "Gimp also means fighting spirit," which is under a split screen of an overhead long shot of him painting a large canvas and a close up of him moving his head and brush. Keplinger then rolls through the studio with a joyful smile on his face and the ad cuts to shots of his paintings, which feature smiling faces. Caption five reads: "I am an artist" and is placed under an image of him sitting in his wheelchair in front of four of his paintings. It is shot from below and then transitions to an eye level shot. The next image is the advertising message: "There is no force more powerful". . . .(next shot): "or beautiful than self expression." The last two shots are a split screen of Keplinger's clasped hands and a head shot, as he speaks the words: "I'm unbelievably lucky." The words are typed out as his says them. The final ad message reads: "What do you have to say?" and then the logo for Cingular Wireless appears.

Theme: Empowerment

Analysis: Cingular Wireless featured Dan Keplinger, the artist who was the subject of the Academy Award-winning documentary "King Gimp," in its 2001 football Super Bowl ad. The use of Keplinger was a brave step for the images of people with disabilities in advertising. Keplinger has a serious form of cerebral palsy that affects both his speech and mobility. Keplinger is not a usual disabled model, because traditionally advertisers choose disabled people whose bodies are not perceived as upsetting to the audience.

So the spot begins by confronting the audience's mistaken impression of Keplinger and his abilities. The words Keplinger uses in the ad are crucial because they confront those who would dismiss him because of his disability. For example, after illustrating his talents as a painter in the ad, he says with gusto: "I'm unbelievably lucky." With this he challenges those who would pity him. With this one ad spot, a person with a disability has told one of the largest TV audiences of the year that he feels lucky, happy, and proud of who he is. The ad has the potential to shake the worldview of those without disabilities, who believe disability is a pitiable millstone hanging around someone's neck. His image and words construct an alternative belief system. "Too often the media depict people with disabilities as a disability, not a person," said Keplinger in Cingular press materials. "The Cingular ad, however, is about me as an artist and that's who I am."

Keplinger's message is not about changing who he is, but reveling in how fortunate he feels. And this is a message embraced by many in the U.S. community of people with disabilities. "There are just so many things this ad does for us - but the most important is to show that disability in and of itself is not bad," says Cyndi Jones, a wheelchair user who is director of the Center for an Accessible Society in San Diego, Ca. "After all - I am unbelievably lucky," she explains (Haller, 2001). In addition, Cingular's ad with Keplinger illustrates that advertisers are willing to show the diversity of human bodies. It showed millions of TV viewers that accurately depicting the human spirit is the best advertising image of all.

Kohler Faucets

Description: This 30-second ad opens with a shot of a brightly lit house from which rock music can be heard, indicating there is a party-taking place. A female voice can be heard saying, "This is a great house." A male voice is heard agreeing and the camera shows a long shot of a couple sitting on a sofa enjoying a party. The male excuses himself. His white cane is clearly visible as he navigates his way through a group of people up two steps and makes his way into the bathroom. A long shot shows him, cane stretched out in front, closing the door behind him. He faces the wash basin and gently uses both hands to locate and turn on the faucet. He gently moves his hands under the flow of water. A close up of his face shows a thoughtful sensitive expression. He uses his fingers to gently trace round the top of the faucet and along the wash basin. He movements are gentle, as he seems to lovingly caress the structure. This is further emphasized by a close up camera shot of his fingers moving around the edge of the basin. The camera moves out again to a long shot of him rechecking all the details followed by a closer shot where he again concentrates on the faucets. Another close up of his face shows the same look of concentration and gentleness. As he entered the bathroom the party sounds gradually faded and were replaced by the gentle restive sounds of the running water thus adding to the gentle pace of the commercial as he took his time to fully appreciate the quality of the bathroom fixtures. He returns to the party, and sitting close to his girlfriend and in a voice that is appreciative and reverent says, "You should see the bathroom." (The ad appeared within the top-rated morning "Today Show" February 26, 2002, indicating it is directed at a middle-class, female audience as confirmed by the show's demographics.)

Theme: Inclusion/Disability Pride

Analysis: The man is shown enjoying a warm and loving relationship with his girlfriend. The couple is shown in an affectionate pose enjoying a party in a friend's home. Both of them look relaxed and comfortable. Both feel it is a nice house. The woman actually verbalizes this and her view is reinforced by the male commenting that after his close examination of the bathroom fittings: "You should see the bathroom." The tone of his voice indicates that he is really impressed by what he has experienced. He is shown as being independent, making his way through a crowd of people up some steps and into the bathroom. Once inside the room he takes his time gently feeling his way round the sink and the faucets, paying great attention to detail. His expression of concentration and his sensitive movements indicate he is pleased by what he touches and that he can appreciate good quality work and design.

Maureen Nemanich (2002), the communications Project Supervisor for Kohler, was surprised to receive some criticism of the advertisement because Kohler had worked with the American Council of the Blind in the ad's development. In a letter to customers who complained she says, that in "(the) 'Party' (ad) we are communicating the quality of our fixtures and faucets by conveying the message that our craftsmanship and design lines are inviting to the touch as well as to the eye." She adds, "His attention to the details of the sink reflects his realistic, everyday interaction with his surroundings." His blindness in no way is shown to prevent him from enjoying life and being able to function independently. It is a positive portrayal of a visually impaired man.

Nuveen & HealthExtras

Description: The 60-second ad for Nuveen, an investment management company, aired during the football Super Bowl in 2000 with Christopher Reeve (the actor who played "Superman" and was paralyzed in an equestrian accident in 1995) shown as cured of his spinal injury. He rises up from his wheelchair and walks up on a stage. He is part of a group assembled in an auditorium of the future for a type of awards program. The paralyzed actor walks across the stage to present an award for research that cures spinal cord injury. His ability to walk was done with the aid of computer animation in which Reeve's head is placed on the body of a man wearing a tuxedo. The narrator states: "In the future, so many amazing things will happen in the world" (Farache, 2000, p. 1).

In 1997, Reeve began a 5-year commitment as a spokesman for disability insurance provider HealthExtras to appear in TV, print, radio and online advertising (Goetzl, 2000). He has appeared in 60- and 30-second TV spots. Produced in black and white, this documentary style ad opens with a close up of Reeve. He says: "People don't really think about what it will do to their family or themselves if they are injured. Basically, they get by hoping it won't happen, but the fact is life is very random, and anything can happen to anyone at any time" (Garfield, 2000, p. 101). Presented as a "matter of fact" narrative, Reeve discusses the importance of being financially prepared as well as the emotional hurdles encountered after having a serious injury. In one spot he talks about his initial thoughts of suicide after his accident. "To learn that you will have a life and that the people around you still love you and need you that, that's the first breakthrough… But having made that first big breakthrough… and decided that it's worth staying around …you still have the problem of … how are we going to make ends meet? (Garfield, 2000, p. 101). The commercial ends with a voice over saying, "Even if you have health insurance, you need HealthExtras" (Garfield, 2000, p. 101). Reeve's second point is about the randomness of tragedy. His third point is: "Even when things seem terribly, terribly bleak … and you think, 'Oh, I've , I've, you know failed now… I can't be a husband, I can't be a father, I can't do things…. You find out that really you haven't, as long as you're there ....It seems to me that if you don't provide adequate coverage ....by enrolling in a plan like HealthExtras ... that's when you've failed them" (Garfield, 2000, p. 101).

Theme: Disabled equals broken.

Analysis: The CEO of HealthExtras says that Reeve is a perfect fit for its product: "He's suffered the precise problem that one of our products is designed to alleviate" (Goetzl, 2000, p. 4). The spots do have more validity because of their connection to disability insurance; however, they teeter on the edge of using scare tactics "reminding you that what can happen to him can happen to anyone" (Garfield, 2000, p. 101). In *Advertising Age*, Bob Garfield criticizes Reeve and the ad because he says Reeve's "victimhood is for rent" (2000, p. 101). Reeve does have more credibility in pitching this product, but as Garfield points out, he is still a good-looking, wealthy actor who probably shares little similarities to the ad's audience. But the bigger problem is what Garfield calls "the commercialization of personal tragedy" (2000, p.101). Using his actor training Reeve has a "command of tone and expression to charm, to touch. To persuade" (2000, p. 101). This is a particularly offensive direction for advertising to take in selling products: using the personal tragedies of celebrities with disabilities.

In the controversial Nuveen ad, the problems caused by trading on tragedy can be seen as dangerously misrepresentative and off putting. In a frightening turn of events, many people around the world misunderstood the Nuveen ad and thought spinal cord injury had been cured when they saw Reeve "walk." Chris Allen of Nuveen said the message of the ad was "to inspire a dialogue on money, to have a new dialogue and get away from buying bigger boats and bigger cars and think about the impact that money can have on the future" (Fitzgerald, 2000, p. 1). However, Thomas Countee, the executive director of the U.S. Spinal Cord Injury Foundation, said it received numerous calls from paralyzed people and their loved ones who wanted to know how to be cured like Reeve in the ad. He believes the ad inspired a false hope of a quick cure for spinal cord injury. "When you go out with an advertisement like that, you tread a very, very narrow line between trying to be creative – and being misleading," Countee said (Fitzgerald, 2000, p. 1). Reeve responded to criticism of the ad with his same rhetoric of hope that a cure will be available if enough time and money are spent on the effort. However, many disabled people have long criticized Reeve's singular focus on a cure. As William Stothers, a wheelchair user and director of the Center for an Accessible Society, says of Reeve's quest: "I don't object to research to find ways to restore damaged spinal cords or causes of other diseases. But I am deeply offended by any implication that disability is an abnormal condition removed from the reality of the human condition. Human beings come in an immense variety of sizes, shapes, talents, and functional abilities. We're all over the map in differences in what we can and cannot do. The limits in what we can do are often found in obstacles and barriers created in and by the environment, natural, built and attitudinal. Finding a cure for those barriers, now that I can buy into" (2002, p.1).

Doritos corn chips

Description: The 30-second ad begins with two young men playing an aggressive game of one-on-one basketball on a park's basketball court. They are seemingly matched in height, both are wearing shorts, and one man is African American and the other is Caucasian. The point of view of the camera begins from above and then takes on the perspective one of the players and then the other. The shots cut to their legs often, revealing that the Caucasian man has a prosthetic leg. The legs all appear equal in the shots, i.e. the prosthetic leg is shown as equal to the young man's other leg and those of his opponent. After a few seconds of play, the ad cuts to a British gentleman standing next to a desk outside. His voiceover states: "Yes, my friend, you are bold, but are you daring?" which relates to the new pitch for Doritos corn chips: "for the bold and daring." The British gentleman then crunches a Dorito his mouth and the ad cuts back to the young men playing basketball. The African American man prepares to shoot a basket and then he arches and shoots. The camera cuts to the basket as the ball approaches and then out of the corner of the shot comes the prosthetic leg being held in the Caucasian man's hand as he uses it to block the ball from going into the basket. The British gentleman's voiceover says: "New Doritos extreme, a bigger chip with an extreme taste. Only for the bold **and** the daring." In the final scene, the Caucasian man is shaking hands with the British gentleman and has his prosthetic leg on the basketball. Clapping can be heard in the background as if to indicate that the young man has passed the test for being bold **and** daring. (The ad appeared within the WB network TV program, "Felicity," on March 20, 2002, indicating its focus on a young, hip audience.).
Theme: Disability Cool/Disability Pride
Analysis: Casey Pieretti is a well-known inline skater who lost his leg after being hit by a drunk driver while in college. He is the amputee playing basketball in the Doritos ad. This ad sends a strong message of pride, as well as showing a vigorous person with a disability. Pieretti is competing equally on the basketball court and in fact, actually has an advantage as is shown in the last scene when he uses his prosthetic leg to block a shot. (Pieretti was a college basketball

player before he lost his leg, so all his movements on the court ring true.) Although focused on a sports theme, the ad does not turn Pieretti into a Supercrip. All the shots show his prosthetic leg to be the equal of the other legs on the court. His aggressive play in the one-on-one game makes him seem "cool," not as if he is succeeding "in spite of" his leg. In fact, his leg is actually the star of the ad as it helps him use a unique tactic in the basketball game. His prosthetic allows him to achieve the goal of both "bold and daring" that the Doritos slogan is asking all to aspire to.

Pieretti is an interesting case study as a disabled athlete who eschews the Supercrip label. In a profile of him, Joe Clark writes: "Disabled athletes are not always 'inspiring' or 'courageous.' Sometimes they are just heeding a call – a call that differs only in tenor, not in kind, from that which beckons nondisabled jocks. Being disabled can be a drag sometimes, but it can also act as a catalyst. Case(y) in point: Casey Pieretti, amputee skater" (2002, p. 1). Pieretti has always been an athlete, as a basketball player before his accident and as a triathlete for a time after the loss of his leg. His perspective: "once a jock, always a jock." He regularly states that the trauma of losing his leg was miniscule compared to the deaths of his father and brother due to a drunk driver several years before his accident. As an inline skater and motivational speaker, Pieretti tries not to reinforce a Supercrip status, and he adds, "I've had my share of being discriminated against, most definitely" (Clark, 2002, p. 2). The problem caused by the Supercrip image is that "focusing on the Herculean achievements of a few very fit disabled people obscures the day-to-day needs of the disabled majority – a barrier-free environment, and end to job discrimination, and at the most fundamental level, simply being thought of as human beings" (Clark, 2002, p. 2). Pieretti skirts around the Supercrip label to one of disability pride, especially because he rarely hides his prosthetic leg. "Pieretti's greatest contribution to disability awareness may be his willingness to walk around wearing shorts, showing off what he calls his *Terminator* leg," Clark writes (2002, p. 2).

Bank of America

Description: The 30-second ad opens with a long shot of a woman warming up for martial arts in a studio. The camera cuts to a close up of her face. Her eyes are closed, and she is breathing evenly in preparation for the contest. An Asian male prepares to attack. There is a close up of his face with his eyes wide open as he prepares to move in on the woman. Her hands fly, and she stops his attack. The camera moves to a long shot with the woman in the center of the shot with male opponents on either side. Both men are in a state of readiness to attack, and she in a position to defend. One of the men lunges and misses. She turns toward the other man, kicks and scores a direct hit. Accompanying the image of the woman "throwing" her male opponent, a voiceover asks the question, "What is possible?" A close-up shot of the woman in a resting position is shown. The next shot shows the woman leaving the studio and walking towards the camera out into the street. As she exits, she unfolds a white cane. This is the first clear indication that she is blind, though the closed eyes throughout the ad might suggest this to be the case. The voiceover this image says, "Does achievement discriminate? Or does it open its doors to everyone? The final shot shows the back of the woman walking confidently down the street, the white cane stretched out in front of her. She is dressed in a sweat suit, sneakers, and carrying a sport's bag over her shoulder. The caption. "Talking ATMs for the visually impaired. Bank of America: Embracing ingenuity," is placed over this shot. All the shots of this woman suggest she is intelligent, has great skill in the martial arts, and these are executed with strength, accuracy and grace, with the resting shot indicating her knowledge of the etiquette of the art.

Theme: We want your business/Supercrip

Analysis:

On August 13th 2001, the Bank of America launched a new brand ad entitled "Sparring," which featured the blind woman in a martial arts fight with three men. According to the bank's press release, this national TV ad "demonstrates the company's success in breaking through societal limitations – and creating new banking experiences for sight impaired customers" (Scredon and Humphrey, 2001, p. 2). The bank says the ad delivers a brand promise: "To be the people who make banking work for customers and clients in ways it never has before" (Scredon and Humphrey, 2001, p. 2). After pressure from blindness organizations, Bank of America began providing accessible services for blind customers by installing thousands of talking ATMs throughout its branches (DREDF, 2001).

However, the "Sparring" ad rightfully attracted criticism. Garfield (2001) in a highly critical piece in *Advertising Age* says what the Bank of America wants is everybody's money, even blind people. He says the ad smacks of pity in an effort to attract nondisabled customers to its "worthy" efforts on behalf of disabled people and tries to woo disabled people and their money with its Supercrip blind woman. "What message do we send the disabled – to say nothing of the able-bodied – with our insistence on viewing them as pitiful wretches unless riding a unicycle on a tightrope with a piano balanced on each knee?" Garfield asks. With these types of Supercrip images, in which a blind woman beats three Asian men in a martial arts competition, the ad is sending an insulting message. "Spare us the wheelchair wheelies and the blind kickboxers, because in their mindless idealization, they ultimately condescend," Garfield argues (2001). He favors mainstreaming disabled people into advertising but says the medium should be accessible to them. The irony of the Bank of America TV ad is that it actually does little to inform blind people about the talking ATMs because it uses captions instead of voiceover.

The ad on its surface seems inclusive. It does show a blind woman being independent, following her interest in the martial arts, traveling on her own, being a high achiever in her chosen sport. The ad goes for a big impact, because by using her blindness as a surprise, it cheapens her independence. Is she best in her sport because she is a woman or because she is blind; the audience is suddenly confused. Is she showing greater skills of movement or is the message really the improbability of a blind woman, no matter how excellent at martial arts, actually beating three others? The overall theme of the ad pushes inclusion to the background and sends the resounding image of a Supercrip, with all the condescension that implies.

Analysis of selected ads using people with disabilities: UK

Marks & Spencer

Description: As part of the VisABLE campaign, two disabled models were selected, and these two winners, a deaf woman and a wheelchair using man, subsequently appeared in Marks and Spencer's chain store print ads selling women's panty hose and men's casual wear (*M&S Magazine*, 2000, p. 32, 45). Natalie Doyle, a design student who is deaf, is paired with another model in an ad accompanying the article about "the easy way to gorgeous summer legs" (p. 21). It is a classy ad, showing two smartly dressed women, one of whom is black and the other white, drinking wine in a sophisticated wine bar. They are looking across the room and clearly having a "conversation" about somebody. From their nonverbal expressions, both laughing and one of the women half shielding her mouth with her hand, they are probably meant to be discussing a rather attractive male. Both are smiling and have a pose that shows off the panty hose on their long, slim and elegant legs. There are no obvious signs that Natalie Doyle is deaf in the ad.

Ben Ashwell, a city analyst and a wheelchair user, is shown advertising "The coolest casuals for young men – and how to wear them for the hottest new looks" (p. 45). He is a young good-looking man with a sparkling smile, a trendy hair cut, and an earring; he is shown wearing an M&S casual top. He is in a relaxed pose with his arms resting on the wheels of his sporty wheelchair, which has no armrests. This full-page ad with Ben Ashwell as the centerpiece shows a range of clothing and accessories for the modern young man.
Theme: Inclusion

Analysis: These two disabled people became models as winners of Leonard Cheshire Foundation's VisABLE contest. They both had other jobs before they became models. Although not apparent to those who see the ads featuring them, the power of these images of disabled people comes from being the first examples of how businesses can use the VisABLE models in campaigns. Their power arises from the potential of the VisABLE efforts – to get more disabled models into mainstream advertising. In fact, in the ad featuring Natalie Doyle, it is not obvious that she is deaf, so M&S receives no recognition that it has employed a disabled model. However, for Natalie Doyle personally, she has been helped into a possible new career, and if she is ever featured in a TV ad, her deafness will be apparent. The ad featuring her sends a message of inclusion because she is appearing with other people. She is shown engaged with another young woman in an activity appropriate to their social group. The image of Natalie Doyle fits with Knoll's photo category (1987) for disabled people known as "one of the gang," in which they interact equally with others. In another way, Ben Ashwell is also "one of the gang" – although he has a visible disability, he is modeling men's fashions just as any nondisabled male models would. He is simply another model, showing off the clothes.

HSBC Bank

Description: HSBC Bank has two print ads using disabled people, one of which is a wall ad in the banks branches and the other is an insert into its statement mailings (Walsh, 2002). One describes "accessible banking, ways to bank with us" and features a male employee who is blind. The other ad focuses on "accessible banking, services for customers with disabilities" and features two photographs -- on the front a male customer, who is an amputee, and inside, a male customer, who is a wheelchair user. In the wall ad, the blind employee is shown reading a Braille script, and his hand is blurred across the page as if he is speed reading. In the insert ad, the male amputee is shown in a white tennis outfit holding a tennis racket in one hand and with a remote control in the other. A tennis ball is clearly visible in the foreground. He is sitting on a sofa and is presumably checking his account via the TV before going to the tennis court. His prosthetic leg is clearly visible. The inside image in the insert uses a male wheelchair user wearing a traditional business suit. All three images feature white males in the 25 to 50 age range.
Theme: We want your business/ Partial Inclusion

Analysis: Mary Walsh, the Customer Disability Manager at HSBC, says, "we ... deliberately did not use a wheelchair user" in the bank's images of disabled people; however, that information is contradicted by the inside image in the insert. She says that the bank's policy is to "use disabled people as a slice of life" (2002). The image of the blind employee actually doing a real bank job is certainly inclusive because it indicates there is a place for blind people to be employed at HSBC. However, the amputee on the front of the statement insert is an odd choice because of the multiple messages of sports and home banking. Why was it necessary to combine the sports image with the message of increased banking access for disabled people? Was putting him in tennis shorts just a convenient way to emphasize his disability and to make sure the reader did not miss it? Or was the advertising agency influenced by the number of disabled sportspeople now being used in advertising in Britain? The underlying message of the insert's images seems to be about adding banking business by attracting upscale white and male disabled consumers. HSBC's insistence that it is trying to depict a slice of life does not ring true with only professional white males being shown.

B&Q

Description: B&Q is a do-it-yourself home improvement store, similar to the American Home Depot. Paula Wakefield stars in 10-second TV Performance Power Drill ads for B&Q. Her lower left arm is missing, and she is pictured holding in her right hand a 12-volt cordless drill and is standing in front of a variety of drill tool accessories. She is dressed in the usual B&Q uniform as she is employed by the organization as a salesperson.

Theme: Inclusion

Analysis: Kay Allen, Diversity Manager for B&Q, explained how the company uses its "advertising campaigns to target customers by using real employees in the ad who will reflect the diverse nature of our customer base. We know customers want to be served by 'people like themselves.' Disability is a natural part of our diverse society. It was therefore a logical step to encourage a disabled employee to take part. We have no criteria over image other than to present disability as a slice of life" (Allen, 2000, personal communication). Paula Wakefield is an average B&Q employee with no special modeling training. The TV ad is so short that it is difficult to see her disability (though a print version is also used). Another positive point in this ad is that she is a female advertising what is traditionally seen as a male endeavor. Other employees who are disabled have been invited to take part in similar campaigns. One of these, an ad for the

Training and Employment Agency's New Deal for Disabled People, shows Brian McDermott, an employee who is deaf, using a hand drill. The B&Q "Equality and Diversity Policy" features two shots of Hazel Rawlings, a wheelchair user who works at the head office in Product Administration. The first shows her doing her job and having a discussion with a sales adviser in the paint department. The other is a close up with a similar background but with the caption "This is who B&Q sees" integrated into the photograph. In the booklet "Disability: A Journey to Accessibility" three images of customers using wheelchair shoppers are included thus indicating the store welcomes disabled shoppers and that stores are accessible. None of the ads use professional models. All are actual employees who happen to have a disability. The people are shown doing their own jobs. The message is disabled people work, shop, and are included here.

"Talk" from UK Disability Rights Commission (DRC)

Description: The 3-minute clip of the longer campaign video begins with lots of talking and chatter in the background with visuals of mouths moving. The scene begins in a business' conference room, with the male leader saying, "Good, good, a long productive discussion. That just about wraps it up." A female voice says, "not quite. There is the new disability discrimination act." She is professional-looking blond woman in a business suit. "We have to decide what we are going to do about it," she continues. A younger man chimes in: "We do whatever the law requires us to do. Hearing aids. Ramps. I don't know. Just keep the costs down." The male leader addressed the young man: "Robert, why don't you check out what the competition is doing. We'll meet up day after tomorrow. Discuss it, talk some more." The next scene shows Robert pouring liquor into a mug and drinking two drinks. He then falls asleep on his desk at home. A mouths chattering flashing scene indicates a transition to Robert's dream. It begins with him leaving his home on a rainy day trying to open his broken umbrella. Around the corner come two women speaking in sign language. One approaches Robert and asks him: "Do you need any help?" (which is captioned.) He looks at her quizzically. He yells for a taxi but several pass him by. He runs through the rain to a building where he gets on a wheelchair lift and rides with a man with disabled arms. He tells Robert: "I'd just like to say I think you're very brave." Robert looks at the man quizzically.. He arrives at an office and tells the secretary he is there for the interview. The secretary, who is missing half her arm, questions him, saying "for the interview?" Robert says: "Sorry I'm late." The secretary responds: "I'm sure that's OK," and hands him a form to fill out. Robert looks confused and the form is revealed to be in Braille. "Sorry, I can't…." Robert says, and the secretary cuts him off with a "you're welcome" while twirling her hair as if she can't be bothered by him. He then enters the interview room where a guide dog is sitting before a panel of four people who seem confused by why he is there. Robert returns to the wheelchair lift and rides again with the man with disabled arms, who tells Robert: "I had a friend who had all his limbs once. It's great." Robert returns to the street where he is told by a taxi driver, "Sorry mate, these are for wheelchairs only." "What?" Robert replies. "I don't make the rules," the taxi driver says. Robert enters a restaurant where in the background someone says "look at him" and "don't they have restaurants of their own." Robert approaches the host explaining that he has a reservation. The host takes on a patronizing tone and whispers: "Sir, do you have anyone with you? …to help you, sir." The next scene is at a disco filled with dancing people, loud music, and flashing lights. A young woman at the bar tells Robert: "Good for you, mate. I think it's really nice that you've got friends that bring you out clubbing like this." The scene switches to the dance floor where several people in wheelchairs are dancing. Then Robert bolts upright in bed, waking from the dream in a sweat and breathing hard. Back in the business conference room, his boss asks him about the disability act: "Let's talk about your findings." Robert replies: "You know what. Let's not talk about it," which transitions to a statement with white letters on a black background: ACTIONS…LOUDER THAN WORDS. Finally, the UK Disability Rights Commission ends with a statement that says: "The Disability Rights Commission calls upon leaders from the world of business, entertainment, & politics to make a practical and long lasting commitment which will enable disabled people to participate fully in society," while reggae/Caribbean music plays. (Note: "Talk" does not run on British television as an advertisement but is used as a training film for companies that will have to comply with the UK's Disability Discrimination legislation.)

Theme: Inclusion/disability cool

Analysis: The centerpiece of the UK's Disability Rights Commission's new campaign, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," is the film drama "Talk," which "transports the audience to a virtual world, where disability is the norm and disabled people live full and active lives, unhindered by social or physical barriers" (Disability Rights Commission web site, 2002). Nondisabled people are a pitied minority and subjected to comments, barriers and actions currently experienced by disabled people, for example, having to negotiate inaccessible buildings and being stared at in public places. A well-known actor, Jonathan Kerrigan, who starred in BBC 1's "Casualty" and ITV's Catherine Cookson adaptation "Dinner of Herbs," plays Robert, the young business executive. His negative perceptions of disability are challenged when he wakes up to find he is the minority in a world friendly to disabled people. The aim of the film, says Matthew Parkhill who wrote and directed it, "is to challenge preconceptions of disabled people in a creative, visual way, that enables the audience to identify with the everyday problems and frustrations that disabled people have to face" (Disability Rights Commission web site, 2002). Bert Massie, Chair of the Disability Rights Commission, comments that "public appeals for greater understanding of disability issues are often well received, but rarely translate into specific action." It is hoped that "Talk" will provide a new perspective and "underline the fact that actions speak louder than words."

The video shows many people who have a wide variety of disabilities getting on with their lives in general and enjoying social activities such as parties, discos and eating out. It does not tell the public how to behave but cleverly mirrors the actions of many nondisabled people towards disabled people. It is well shot, cutting quickly from scene to scene and covers a whole range of issues that challenge attitudes towards disability. After "Talk" won the Short Film Award at the Third Rushes Soho Shorts Festival, Liz Sayce, Director of Communications and Change at the DRC, said, "Using a dramatic storyline was a deliberate attempt to get away from traditional campaigns and this award places disability issues firmly in the mainstream" (Disability Rights Commission web site, 2002). The film has a strong disability rights and inclusive message, which is challenging and cleverly constructed.

Conclusions

Haller and Ralph (2001) found in their study that tabulated disabilities in advertising since 1984 that the images focused primarily on two disabilities: wheelchair use and deafness. This has begun to change as evidenced by the greater variety of different disabilities used in recent commercial advertising. See Table 1. Although there is still much emphasis placed on wheelchair users, amputees and people who are blind fulfill some of the needs of the visual nature of advertising. Prosthetic limbs, missing limbs, white canes, and more severe disabilities such as cerebral palsy provide the visual cues that advertisers need to denote disability. Also, this qualitative analysis of 11 recent ads featuring people with disabilities in America and the UK illustrates that the person with a disability is representing the theme of the advertising message, as well as presenting a narrative about the current place of disabled people in these societies. As disabled screenwriter Marc Moss explained, "with varying degrees of finesse, they (advertisers) juggle two points: Their products or services are worthy, and so are people who can't walk" (Moss, 1992 June 19, p. A8).

Of course, as with much advertising, only attractive people typically become models. But as one disabled actor said, "the Adonis in a wheelchair is better than the whimpering victim in a corner" (McLaughlin, 1993 Aug. 22, p. 31). However, this study shows that in the last few years, advertisements are taking more risk when they show disability. Dan Keplinger in the Cingular ad has severe cerebral palsy and is difficult to understand, but that made his message of self expression for the cell phone company even more powerful. And Casey Pieretti does not hide his prosthetic leg; in fact, it is the star of the Doritos commercial. Therefore, these more risky disability images have the potential to send an empowering message about disability to audiences who see them and possibly change public attitudes. Several past studies on the potential for societal attitude changes towards disabled people through use of media images have confirmed this phenomenon (Farnall & Smith, 1999; Panol & McBride, 1999; Farnall, 1996).

Though still comparatively rare, ads featuring disabled people are increasing both in America and the UK. In the UK this is probably due to the new disability legislation and the Disability Rights Commission asking companies to include disabled people in their advertising, producing the film "Talk" as part of a training package, and establishing a government review aimed at ensuring the appearance of more disabled people in its advertising campaigns (*Campaign*, 2001). UK ads provide less visual excitement than those from America, but most of them give some form of inclusive message. For example, "Talk" is a bold move away from tradition by being a vibrant and persuasive video. Ironically, it is UK charities such as Leonard Cheshire and SCOPE, which were once hounded by the disability rights groups for their negative images, that are mostly responsible for this increase in the number of ads featuring disabled people. One might question the idea of a "special" modeling competition and modeling agency for disabled people, but there have been positive results from both. Also, SCOPE's ongoing dialogue concerning the positive portrayal of disabled people in advertising has been useful in getting disability issues onto the UK's mainstream agenda.

As ever, money continues to be a dominant theme for advertisers in both the UK and America. As Haller and Ralph (2001) said: "The implication of the images produced in these advertisements is that advertising not only includes disabled people for capitalistic reasons, but realizes these must be accurate images to earn any profit from their use." The positive impact of appealing to the disabled consumers' dollars has long been documented (Williams, 1999a). For instance, even though its ad was poorly done, Bank of America realized the potential of a large untapped source of customers -- the visually impaired, so it began a nationwide installation of talking ATMs. UK's Disability Rights Commission, SCOPE, and VisABLE campaigns are trying to promote a similar idea of profitability there. As B&Q home improvement reports on its initiative to hire disabled people and attract disabled consumers: "A new B&Q Warehouse building operates to a budget of £11 million. The total cost of the physical changes and auxiliary aids and the training totals £8000 set against the potential for increased turnover from disabled and elderly shoppers this figure represents an attractive investment" (2000, p. 10). Several ads analyzed presented this very straightforward capitalistic theme of "we want your business."

The goal of this paper was to investigate whether advertising images remained static in their messages (focusing solely on integration) or were expanding their messages to show a variety of disability images. The findings from the analysis of the 11 ads revealed that there have been several great leaps forward in disability images, such as the themes of empowerment in the Cingular ad and the themes of disability pride and inclusion in the Doritos, Kohler, B&Q, Marks & Spencer, and HSBC ads. However, several ads still embrace antiquated themes that further stigmatize disabled people, such as the Nuveen, HealthExtras, and Bank of America ads. These themes convey an underlying message that disabled people are broken and should be fixed, are awash in tragedy, or are Supercrips who sit upon a pedestal for their coping skills. The advertising images analyzed fit with only two categories of Thomson's (2001) taxonomy of visual rhetorics of disability: the wonderous (Supercrip images) and the realistic. In a positive change in both U.S. and UK societies, Thomson's other two categories seem to meet with rejection. Even the most unenlightened nondisabled person recognizes that the drippy, sentimental images represented by telethons and charities and the exotic images of disabled people as freaks have no place in 21st century societies that are trying to restructure themselves so people with disabilities can compete equally in all facets of life.

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TABLE 1

Sample of advertisements that featured people with disabilities. Collected from U.S. and UK business publications and company materials.

YEAR (Note: Ads may have appeared in more years than shown.	**COMPANY**	**DISABILITY** (Note: These are broad categories that don't indicate specific disabilities.)	**MEDIUM**	**REFERENCE**
1984	LEVI'S	WHEELCHAIR	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1986	MCDONALD'S	DEAFNESS	TV	DOUGHERTY, 1986
1986	AT&T	DEAFNESS	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1987	DU PONT (PLASTICS)	AMPUTEE	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1987	PROCTER & GAMBLE (CREST)	DEAFNESS	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1987	LEVI'S	DEAFNESS	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1987	CITICORP	WHEELCHAIR	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1987	APPLE COMPUTERS	WHEELCHAIR	TV	ALSOP, 1987
1989	MCDONALD'S	PARAPLEGIA	TV	LIPMAN, 1989
1989	NIKE	AMPUTEE	TV	LIPMAN, 1989
1989	COTTON INDUSTRY	N/A	N/A	WALDROP, 1990
1990	PACIFIC TELESIS	WHEELCHAIR	TV	LIPMAN, 1989
1990	IBM	N/A	N/A	LIPMAN, 1989
1990	NISSAN	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	WALDROP, 1990
1990	AT&T	DEAFNESS	TV	LIPMAN, 1990
1990	CITIBANK	DEAFNESS	TV	WALDROP, 1990
1990	BURGER KING	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	DOURADO, 1990
1990	TARGET	WHEELCHAIR CRUTCHES WALKERS DOWN'S	PRINT	GOERNE, 1992
1990	FUJI	LEARNING DISABILITY	TV (UK)*	DEAKIN, 1996
1991	NORDSTROM	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	RABINOVITZ, 1991
1991	RALPH LAUREN	PARAPLEGIA	PRINT**	COLEMAN, 1997
1991	KIDS R US	N/A	PRINT	SAGON, 1991
1991	EDDIE BAUER	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	RABINOVITZ, 1991
1991	MARSHALL FIELDS	N/A	PRINT	SAGON, 1991
1991	K MART	WHEELCHAIR	TV	SAGON, 1991
1991	PEPSI	BLINDNESS	TV	RABINOVITZ, 1991
1991	DR. SCHOLL'S	DEAFNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1992	PACIFIC BELL	WHEELCHAIR	TV	MOSS, 1992
1992	OLYMPUS	WHEELCHAIR	TV	MOSS, 1992
1992	REEBOK	WHEELCHAIR	TV	MOSS, 1992
1992	COTTON INDUSTRY	BLINDNESS	TV	COTTON INDUSTRY
1992	BUDWEISER	WHEELCHAIR	TV	ROBERTS & MILLER, 1992
1992	DISNEY WORLD	N/A	TV	ROBERTS & MILLER, 1992
1992	MARSHALL'S	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	GOERNE, 1992
1992	APPLE COMPUTERS	WHEELCHAIR	TV	GOERNE, 1992
1993	DOW CHEMICAL	DOWN'S	TV	GOLDMAN, 1993
1993	LAND'S END	DOWN'S	PRINT	GOLDMAN, 1993
1993	BURGER KING	DOWN'S	TV*	GOLDMAN, 1993
1993	MCDONALDS	DOWN'S	TV	GOLDMAN, 1993

1993	NORDSTROM'S	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	REUTERS, 1992
1994	WAL-MART	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	WAL-MART, 1994
1994	STRAWBRIDGE & CLOTHIER	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	STRAWBRIDGE & CLOTHIER, 1994
1995	JC PENNEY	N/A	PRINT	THOMAS, 1995
1995	KRAFT (CHEESE)	DEAFNESS	TV	QUINN, 1995
1995	SATURN	CRUTCHES	PRINT	SPAN, 1995
1995	NIKE	HIV+	TV	SPAN, 1995
1995	NIKE	MISSING LIMBS	PRINT (UK)	DEAKIN, 1996
1995	SEARS	WHEELCHAIR	TV	SPAN, 1995
1995	KELLOG'S	DEAFNESS	TV	SPAN, 1995
1995	KELLOG'S	WHEELCHAIR	TV	SPAN, 1995
1995	HOME DEPOT	AMPUTEE	TV	SPAN, 1995
1995	MITSUBISHI	N/A	N/A	SPAN, 1995
1995	CHRYSLER	N/A	N/A	SPAN, 1995
1995	TOYOTA	N/A	N/A	SPAN, 1995
1996	UPS	WHEELCHAIR BLINDNESS	PRINT	UPS
1997	AT&T	QUADRAPLEGIA	TV	COLEMAN, 1997
1997	BANK OF AMERICA	N/A	N/A	*MAINSTREAM*, 1997
1997	NORTHWEST AIRLINES	WHEELCHAIR	TV	*MAINSTREAM*, 1997
1997	GENERAL MOTORS	N/A	N/A	COLEMAN, 1997
1997	IBM	QUADRAPLEGIA	PRINT	PRAGER, 1997
1997	MICROSOFT	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	MICROSOFT, 1997
1997	U.S. MILK PRODUCERS	N/A	PRINT	COLEMAN, 1997
1998	NIKE	LIMP	TV	CHAMBERS, 1998
1998	BENNETTON	DOWNS	PRINT	BENNETTON
1998	COTTON INDUSTRY	WHEELCHAIR	TV	COTTON INDUSTRY
	DUPONT	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	DUPONT
1999	PROCTER & GAMBLE	DEAFNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	JOHNSONVILLE SAUSAGE	DEAFNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	SNAP.COM	DEAFNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	CHARLES SCHWAB	BLINDNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	MCDONALD'S	BLINDNESS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	PUBLIX MARKETS	DEAFNESS	N/A	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	FOX SPORTS.COM	MISSING ARMS	TV	KAUFMAN, 1999
1999	WALMART	DEAFNESS	TV	WILLIAMS, 1999b
1999	WALMART	WHEELCHAIR	TV	WILLIAMS, 1999b
1999	U.S. ROBOTICS	ALS	TV	WILLIAMS, 1999b
1999	INTEL	ALS	TV	WILLIAMS, 1999b
1999	GENERAL MILLS	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT	THOMPSON, 1999
1999	BRITSH GOVERNMENT – DfEE	ALL DISABILITIES	PRINT (UK)	DfEE, 1999
1999	COCA COLA	BLINDNESS	TV (UK)	WHITE, 2001
1999	ALPO	BLINDNESS	TV	ALPO
1999	NABISCO	DEAFNESS	TV	WILLIAMS, 1999a
	AIR TOUCH CELLULAR	BLINDNESS	TV (4) RADIO (4)	AIR TOUCH

2000	ONE2ONE	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	VISABLE, 2000
2000	B&Q	MISSING ARM	TV (UK)	VISABLE, 2000
2000	MARKS & SPENCER	DEAFNESS**	PRINT (UK)	VISABLE, 2000
2000	MARKS & SPENCER	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT (UK)	VISABLE, 2000
2000	COOPERATIVE BANK – SMILE	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	VISABLE, 2000
2000	HEALTHEXTRAS	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT/TV	GOETZL, 2000
2000	NUVEEN	WHEELCHAIR	TV	GOETZL, 2000
2000	BRITISH TELECOM	ALS	TV (UK)	HIGHAM, 2000
2000	EXCITE	DEAFNESS	TV (UK)	HIGHAM, 2000
2000	AUTOMOBILE ASSN.	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	HIGHAM, 2000
2000	FORD	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	HIGHAM, 2000
2000	FREESERVE	AMPUTEE	TV (UK)	FREESERVE
2000	LLOYD'S BANK	WHEELCHAIR	TV (UK)	LLOYD'S, 2000
2001	BRITISH GOVERNMENT	ALL DISABILITIES	FILM (UK)	www.disability.gov.uk/drc/
2001	CINGULAR WIRELESS	CEREBRAL PALSY	TV	ELKIN, 2001
2001	BANK OF AMERICA	BLINDNESS	TV	GARFIELD, 2001
2001	MITSUBISHI	DYSLEXIA***	TV	NUDD, 2001
2001	WEST MIDLANDS POLICE	BLINDNESS MISSING LIMBS	PRINT (UK)	WEST MIDLANDS POLICE
2002	365 CORPORATION	GENERAL DISABILITY***	PRINT	*MARKETING WEEK*, 2002
2002	FRITO LAY	AMPUTEE	TV	www.doritos.com
2002	BRITISH TELECOM	DEAFNESS	TV (UK)	BRITISH TELECOM
2002	HSBC BANK	BLINDNESS AMPUTEE WHEELCHAIR	PRINT (UK)	HSBC
2002	ASDA SUPERMARKETS	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT (UK)	VISABLE, 2001
2002	VAUX HALL	WHEELCHAIR	PRINT (UK)	VAUX HALL
2002	KOHLER FAUCETS	BLINDNESS	TV	KOHLER

TOTALS OF MEDIA CATEGORIES:

TV = 71
PRINT = 28
UNKNOWN = 8
RADIO = 4
FILM = 1

TOTAL = 112

* Ad was pulled.
** Disabled model used but disability not apparent.
*** Reference to disability, not person with a disability.

An Analysis of the Dissimilar Coverage of the 2002 Olympics and Paralympics: Frenzied Pack Journalism versus the Empty Press Room

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A student paper submitted to the
Media and Disability Interest Group
AEJMC Conference
Miami Florida
August 2002

An Analysis of the Dissimilar Coverage of the 2002 Olympics and Paralympics: Frenzied Pack Journalism versus the Empty Press Room

Abstract

This article analyzes the differing amounts of coverage reporters gave to the 2002 Olympics versus the 2002 Paralympics (the Olympics for the disabled). A content analysis of six newspapers, a month-long field study at the Olympic/Paralympic media centers and twenty qualitative interviews were utilized as tools to analyze the differing paradigms of selected Olympic and Paralympic reporters concerning the following disability-related issues: audience appeal and interest, pack journalism versus independent reporting, and the newsworthiness of Paralympic events.

The 2002 Winter Olympics and Paralympics (the Olympics for the disabled) were two very similar events. Both spectacles were planned by the Salt Lake Organizing Committee (SLOC), used the same venues, had similar competitions, awarded gold, silver and bronze medals and involved the best athletes in the world in their respective spheres. Both events drew athletes from at least 36 countries and had sell-out crowds for several of the sporting events.

Also, both events faced scandal. The 2002 Winter Olympic organizers had to face scandals involving doping and the possible corruption of a figure skating judge. During the 2002 Winter Paralympics Thomas Oelsner, a German skier, became the first athlete in history to be disqualified from the Winter Paralympics for a doping offense.

However, while the 2002 Olympic Games were covered extensively in the news media, the 2002 Paralympic Games faced a drought of news coverage. This study explores the different amounts of coverage the two events received and seeks to analyze the differing paradigms of selected Olympic and Paralympic reporters regarding the coverage of the Paralympics. Studies have highlighted the lack of coverage of the Paralympics (Sutton 1998; Hardin, Hardin, Lynn and Walsdorf 2001) but few investigations have been conducted to ascertain the reasoning behind this lack of coverage.

In an attempt to extend the prior research, this study strives to answer the following questions: Why did selected reporters cover the 2002 Winter Olympics and not the 2002 Winter Paralympics? Also, in the face of such widespread noncoverage of the Paralympics and the compelling reasons the Olympic reporters gave for not covering the event, why did certain reporters and news organizations choose to cover the 2002 Winter Paralympics?

A newspaper content analysis, a month-long field study of the Olympic and Paralympic main media centers, and 20 qualitative interviews were used as tools to analyze the undercoverage of the Paralympics in relation to the Olympics and the differing paradigms of selected Olympic and Paralympic reporters.

A thematic analysis of the interviews revealed that the noncoverage of the Paralympics by the selected Olympic reporters arose from the journalists' perceptions of lack of audience interest and appeal, logistical problems, or a feeling that the Paralympic Games were not a real competition. Conversely, a thematic analysis of the Paralympic reporter's interviews revealed that their coverage of the Paralympics emanated from prior exposure to the Paralympics, a desire to raise disability awareness, the feeling that the Paralympic Games were newsworthy, or their exposure to successful National Paralympic Committee public relations campaigns.

The content analysis revealed that during the time period from February 1 to March 18, the duration of the highest concentration of news articles concerning the 2002 Olympics and the Paralympics, the top mainstream American daily newspapers studied in this investigation had an average of 427 articles about the Olympics, while averaging only two articles about the Paralympics (Table 1).

Such instances of near invisibility of the disabled in the news media can have implications across society as the ever-growing population of 50 million disabled adults in the United States (Sutton 1998) evolves into a "disability community" (Nelson, 1999;

John 1997, Nelson, 1992) and this community continues to struggle as studies show that Americans feel embarrassed, and almost half are fearful, around people with disabilities (Wolfe 1996). This has ever-widening implications as scholars note that all individuals will become disabled at some point in their lives.

> Disability – like sex and aging – is a common experience. Everyone who does not now identify as a person with a disability will, before he or she dies, be disabled. Maybe just minutes before death from a heart attack or in a car accident, but everyone will be disabled. (Pfeiffer, 2001, p. 151)

Olympics and Paralympic News Coverage

While the Paralympics have traditionally been an undercovered event, the Olympic Games have been the target of frenzied pack journalistic practices. As the time for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games approached, the intensity level rose in newsrooms around the world. Thousands of media representatives sent in for accreditation, Olympic reporter teams were put in place and talk of the Olympics filled the sports sections and front pages of newspapers. When the Olympic Games came to Salt Lake City from February 8 to 24, 9,000 accredited reporters had access to the media center at the Salt Palace. The media center became similar to a small town, equipped with a Main Street section, restaurants, a day spa and a bar. Unaccredited journalists also flew into Salt Lake City and roamed the town, looking for stories.

Ten days after the Olympic closing ceremonies, the Paralympic Games took place from March 7 to 16. At that time, almost 1,000 Paralympians, guides and coaches from 36 countries held their international competition in Utah. So few media attended that they were headquartered in a tent outside an ice hockey venue in West Valley City called the E Center. The tent was located in the parking lot between the E Center and the northbound lanes of Highway I-15, where some reporters, when they initially found out the location, expressed a concern that the location would be cold and noisy (Deseret News 2001).

Scholars such as Herbert Gans and Teun van Dijk have isolated the news values that reporters use in newsgathering decisions. These were identified by van Dijk as novelty, recency, presuppostion, consonance, relevance, deviance and negativity and proximity (van Dijk 1988). Gans noted that story selectors gravitated toward a handful of story types: people stories, role reversals, human-interest stories, expose anecdotes, hero stories, and "Gee-whiz" stories (Gans 1979). Typically, reporters tend to seek out, among other values, the news values of conflict, uniqueness and human interest.

The Paralympic games have many of those newsworthy elements, with possible stories of rivalries between competitors from different countries, blow-by-blow coverage of the sports events, reports on disability issues, and the human-interest stories of the lives of the Paralympians. Yet the press has traditionally barely covered the event. Chris Waddell, a Paralympic gold medallist, told the Deseret News that while Paralympians "compete often in complete anonymity," they take their competitions seriously (Thalman 2001).

During the Olympic Games there were 9,000 accredited journalists covering the 2,399 athletes, for a ratio of 3.75 journalists for every athlete. This figure doesn't take into account the thousands of unaccredited journalists that also came to cover the Olympic competition. During the Paralympic Games, the accreditation list contained 700 names of reporters, photographers, television news staff and technicians in relation to the 421 Paralympic athletes for a ratio of 1.66 journalists to every athlete.

However, while there were 700 media members listed on the accreditation list for the Paralympics, a content analysis of selected top circulation newspapers in America showed that they only minimally covered the competition.

TABLE 1

Comparison of Olympic and Paralympic Articles Published By Selected American High Circulation Newspapers (02/01/02 to 03/18/02)

Newspaper	Olympic Articles	Paralympic Articles
USA Today	611	5
The New York Times	387	5
The Los Angeles Times	533	0
The Washington Post	306	2
The New York Daily News	278	0
The Houston Chronicle	446	1

Source: Lexus-Nexus Academic Universe

When looking for explanations in the difference in coverage, it can be noted that there were two main differences in the events: The Olympics involved able athletes, while the Paralympic Games involved athletes with disabilities, and the Paralympics Games were smaller, involving about a fifth of the athletes. However, the news outlets could potentially have simply scaled down their coverage and the number of reporters covering the Paralympics to be commensurate with the smaller competition.

Dennis Romboy, one of the local print reporters with *The Deseret News*, noted that the only American print reporters covering sledge hockey at the E Center were from his local paper and the other competing local paper, *The Salt Lake Tribune*. However, Romboy had to join a mid-sized crowd of foreign reporters (either print or broadcast) to talk to the athletes after each competition, which presented the appearance that the foreign press were more interested in the Paralympics than were the American press, with the exceptions being *The Salt Lake Tribune* and *The Deseret News*. These two local dailies covered the event well, with an average of more than 100 articles about the Paralympics printed in each newspaper.

Disability and the media

Disability activists have long expressed concerns about the biases and lack of sensitivity on the part of reporters when it comes to covering the disabled. When activists were working toward passage of the American Disabilities Act, the advocates for the disabled decided not to explain the legislation to the press. The lead lobbyist, Patrisha Wright of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, said, "We would have been forced to spend half our time trying to teach reporters what's wrong with their stereotypes of people with disabilities" (Shapiro 1994). Activists have also taken issue with coverage they maintained was inaccurate, stereotypical and paternalistic (Biklen 1987; Cooke and Reisner 1991; Elliott 1989; Johnson 1990; Johnson and Elkins 1989; Krossel 1988; Shapiro 1994).

Robert Bogdan and Douglas Biklen have identified the common "handicapist stereotypes" present in the media. These stereotypical depictions of disabled people were delineated as pitiable and pathetic; the superhuman cripple or "supercrip"; sinister, evil and criminal; better-off dead; maladjusted or his own worst enemy; a burden; or unable to live a successful life (Bogdan and Biklen 1987). Over the years, perceptions of the disabled haven't changed and stereotypes haven't been updated (Day 2000)

The stereotypical coverage of individuals with disabilities also permeates the sports media. When a story of an athlete with disabilities breaks into mainstream sports pages, it is either in a story of the "super crip" mold or a story involving controversy over the disabled athlete (Hardin, Hardin, Lynn and Walsdorf 2001). When athletes with disabilities are covered, they typically are written as feature stories, not sports articles (Shapiro 1993).

The Invisible Minority

While noting the pervasiveness of stereotypical coverage of the disabled, this investigation sought to highlight the invisibility of the athlete with disabilities, and explore the reasoning behind the lack of coverage of the disabled in relation to the Paralympics.

This noncoverage of disability sport follows the trend of lack of coverage of people with disabilities generally, which adds to the notion that the disabled are not fully a part of society (Nelson 1996). This invisibility of the disabled extends to journalism textbooks (Hardin and Preston 2001) and can also be noted in the absence of persons with physical disabilities in television advertising. Ganahl and Arbuckle noted:

> Television shapes the perception of reality which creates a virtual TV culture. As a result, many people are intensely interested in how disability is portrayed in the media. Beyond the ethics of doing good for good's sake, persons with disabilities

> represent a significant percentage of the target market for many products, yet in advertising people with disabilities remain an invisible group. (Ganahl and Arbuckle, 2001)

Mary Douglas has observed (1966) that there are times when something is considered "out of place" and, those who hold negative stereotypes tend to exclude those groups from their attention. Julie Kristeva calls such expelled or excluded groups 'abjected' from the Latin meaning 'thrown out' (Kristeva 1982; Hall 1997).

In pursuing an explanation for this noncoverage, disability scholars have noted that, when people have unconscious fears about disability, one emotional avenue they pursue is to shun disabled individuals and exclude them from their attention.

> Disability happens around us more often than we generally recognize or care to notice, and we harbor unspoken anxieties about the possibilities of disablement, to us or to someone close to us. What we fear, we often stigmatize and shun and sometimes seek to destroy. (Longmore, 1985, p 32)

The phenomenon of the invisible athlete in disability sport may be a reflection of the invisibility of the disabled in society generally, and this nonattention could feed into the existing societal apprehension concerning the disabled. Thus, there may be merit in investigating the underlying causes of the lack of coverage of the Paralympics and attempt to analyze the differing paradigms of reporters in connection with that international sporting event.

Methodology

This investigation employed the methodologies of field observation, qualitative interviewing and content analysis.

Field Study

As part of this investigation a field study was conducted at the Main Media Centers of the Olympics and the Paralympics. The participant observation lasted over a month – for the duration of the Olympics and the Paralympics.

Howard Becker and Blanche Geer have noted that there are certain types of data that could be collected through field observation that could not be obtained as well through other methods.

> The most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it: An observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence. Such a datum gives us more information about the event under study than data gathered by any other sociological method. Participant observation can thus provide us with a yardstick against which to measure the completeness of data gathered in other ways, a model which can serve to let us know what orders of information escape us when we use other methods. (Becker and Geer, 1970, p. 133)

The researcher, as a volunteer journalist with the Olympic/Paralympic news services, was able to obtain accreditation for the main media centers of the Olympics and the Paralympics. As part of the field study, she interacted often with the reporters as she rode the media buses, ate in the media center cafeteria, and attended press conferences and other events with the reporters in keeping with the "conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life-activities and on occasion, in the interests and affects of a group of persons." (Kluckhohn, 1940, p. 331)

Qualitative interviews

Ten Olympic reporters participated in semi-structured qualitative interviews for this study. The reporters interviewed were chosen because they were English speaking, were covering the Olympics but stated that they would not be covering the Paralympics and were willing to be interviewed in the midst of covering the Olympics. Also, ten Paralympic reporters were interviewed during the Paralympics, and were chosen because they were English speaking, were covering the Paralympics, and were willing to be interviewed in the midst of their coverage.

The interviews were challenging to obtain due to the busy lifestyle the reporters were leading while covering the Olympics and Paralympics. Interviews were obtained in media buses, the lunchroom, the bullpen, and the media center or while walking from one event to another. The interviews lasted from 15 minutes to an hour. Member checks (Lincoln and Guba 1985) were conducted with several reporters in April 2002. During the interviews, the researcher strove to become a "conversational partner" (Rubin and Rubin 1995) and establish rapport and obtain "thick description" (Geertz 1973) from the reporters as she sought to have them add depth, detail and richness to their narratives and evaluations of their coverage of the Olympics and the Paralympics.

Content Analysis

A single coder did the content analysis following the research principles highlighted in Krippendorff (1980) and Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998). The coding units were articles from six top circulation newspapers listed on the Lexus-Nexus Academic Universe and two local newspapers. The articles were coded for whether the primary or secondary theme of the article was concerning the Olympic or Paralympic games. An intra-coder reliability test (Riffe, Lacy & Fico 1998) yielded a 99 percent reliability rate for articles coded.

Results

The Olympic Reporters

The reporters interviewed were from the United States (6), Austria (2), New Zealand and the Middle East. They all asked for anonymity in regard to their quotes in this study.

Several themes arose in the conversations with the Olympic reporters. The reporters stated that they wouldn't be covering the Paralympics due to one or more of the following factors: either their or their news organization's perception of lack of audience interest and appeal, the logistical challenges in covering the Paralympics or their assessment that the Paralympic Games were not a real competition.

Lack of Audience Interest and Appeal

There were two ways the differing reporters framed their statements concerning lack of audience interest and appeal in relation to the Paralympics. Some validated the Paralympics as a competition, but stated that they would not be covering it due to the economic realities of viewership. However, other reporters stated their perception of an absence of audience interest in the topic but lacked the validating comments. This second group made blanket statements inferring a universal or total lack of interest in the audience concerning news about the Paralympics.

As an Austrian broadcast journalist shared his perception of audience interest, his news judgment projected to his audience a sense of total non-interest in the Paralympic coverage.

> No one is interested. No one wants to watch it. It is hard to produce a program that no one wants to watch … Although, it is good for the athletes to cover them. Austrians do well at the Paralympics, but no one knows who they are. They are not celebrities. I don't know who they are. I couldn't name one right now. (Anonymous, interview, February 10, 2002)

An American print reporter with a national newspaper echoed her perception of the universality of non-interest in the Paralympics and also placed the responsibility for the lack of audience on the Paralympians.

> Lots of people watch the Olympics. Nobody watches the Paralympics. The Olympics have been around for over 100 years and have developed a following. The Paralympics hasn't developed a following. (Anonymous, interview, February 13, 2002)

A Middle Eastern reporter included comments that validated the Paralympics as a legitimate competition, but noted that there was interest in his country only for the summer Paralympics and not the winter Paralympics.

> The Paralympics are very popular in my country and our athletes do very well. We have many Paralympians because of the war. We covered the summer Paralympics but not the winter Paralympics. There is a lack of interest in my country for the winter Paralympics. (Anonymous, interview, February 22, 2002)

Logistical Challenges

Two of the reporters noted the logistical challenges of covering the Paralympics after the exhausting Olympic experience. An American print reporter noted:

> My wife would kill me if I stayed past the Olympics. I've been away from home too long. Besides, we're Olympic'd out. We're tired. Our readers are tired. By the end of the Olympics all the stories sound the same. We don't want to write another Olympic story and the readers don't want to read another Olympic story. (Anonymous, interview, February 16, 2002)

The Paralympics Are Not a Real Competition

Two of the reporters stated that they didn't think the Paralympics deserved coverage. The term "It's not a real competition" arose in the reporters with this mindset.

As one American broadcast reporter stated:

> They [the Paralympians] can't compete on the same level as the Olympic athletes, so it's a bone they throw to them to make them feel better. It's not a real competition, and I, for one, don't see why I should have to cover it. It's like the WNBA [Women's National Basketball Association]. The women can't compete on the same level as the men, so they gave them their own league, but it hasn't really caught on. (Anonymous, interview, February 9, 2002)

An American print reporter from a large circulation paper echoed this sentiment when he explained why he wasn't going to cover the Paralympics.

> First of all, we're exhausted and want to go home. Also, I don't think the two events [the Olympics and the Paralympics] should be together at all. They have no relation to each other. It [the Paralympics] is not a real competition You wouldn't hold a high school tournament in Yankee Stadium. You wouldn't hold an amateur competition at Madison Square Garden. (Anonymous, interview, February 12, 2002)

The phrase "It's not a real competition" is interesting from an interpretative standpoint. An analyst could ask, "If it's not a real competition, then what is it?" To change the sentence from a negative to a positive statement, the statement would have to read, "It's an unreal (or imaginary or nonexistent) competition" or "It's a phony competition."

Douglas has noted that we tend to exclude certain classes of individuals, objects or ideas that do not fit into the classifications we ascribe to them, noting that "our pollutions behavior is the reaction which condemns any object or idea likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications." (Douglas 1966)

Several reporters compared the Paralympics to the WNBA and spoke of both as sports that hadn't caught on and weren't that popular. It is interesting to note that both professional women's basketball players and Paralympians step out of the classifications that society has supplied for them. Women basketball players, instead of exhibiting feminine styles of dress and feminine physiques, are tall, tough and aggressive, while Paralympians are people with disabilities who, instead of acting helpless, exhibit drive and a competitive nature. When interviewed, Paralympic hockey players speak in the same manner as the Olympic hockey players and want to be treated as any other athlete.

One American reporter with a national publication noted that reporters, like wolves, tend to travel in packs.

> It's long been my observation that reporters instinctively move in packs, even staying in the same hotels when we're in Pakistan, for instance. There is a lot of camaraderie that we share, and I love the company of other reporters, but this pack-like behavior inevitably means that we're all getting the same story. (Anonymous, interview, February 20, 2002)

The reporters came as a pack to the Olympics and left as a pack. One of the most crowded, congested days for the entire year at the Salt Lake International Airport was February 25, the day after the Olympics ended, as Olympic fans and reporters left town en masse.

The Paralympic Reporters

Ten Paralympic reporters participated in semi-structured qualitative interviews during the Paralympics. They came from Japan (2), Mexico, Slovakia, Pakistan, Germany, Belarus, Norway, and the United States (2). Most of the Paralympic reporters gave permission for their names to be used in this article. Of the ten reporters –

1. Four stated that they had been assigned by their editors to cover the Paralympics (Japan (2), Mexico, Belarus). They noted that, even though it was an assignment, it was something they were glad they were doing.
2. Three had been given the opportunity of choosing whether or not they wanted to cover the Paralympics (United States, Norway, Slovakia).
3. Three reporters had approached their editors and asked if they could cover the Paralympics (Pakistan, United States, Germany).

During most of the Paralympic competition, the tented main media center was almost empty. In one corner, a few photographers would sit and look at their photographs on their laptops. Sprinkled throughout some of the tables, solitary newspaper reporters would sit – perhaps from Norway or Slovakia or elsewhere.

But in one corner, in stark contrast to the rest of the room, there were three tables crowded with Japanese reporters who were writing intensely on their laptops, chatting with each other, or talking on their cell phones.

When asked why the Japanese were covering the Paralympics in such a thorough manner, one of the Japanese reporters answered, "Our newspapers are big and we can cover many things."

It is true that the Japanese culture is one of the most media-saturated in the world. Ellis Krauss observed in "Japan: News and Politics in a Media-Saturated Democracy," that Japan has a highest per capita newspaper distribution rate in the world. He noted:

> The national papers include the so-called Big Three: *The Yomiuri* (1998 morning circulation, 10.2 million per day), the *Asahi* (8.3 million), and the *Mainichi* (4 million), each of them being among the largest newspapers in the world. In addition to these morning editions, there is the unique Japanese practice of each major newspaper publishing an afternoon edition with completely different content. (p 268)

However, Koh Tanaka, a reporter with the *Asahi*, felt that his presence at the Paralympics had more to do with the Japanese news organizations' prior exposure to the Paralympics in Nagano and his editor's news agenda that involved raising disability awareness.

When the Paralympic reporters were interviewed, they were asked to comment about the reasons the Olympic reporters had given for not covering the competition and were asked why they were covering the Paralympics. The reporters gave one or more of the following reasons why they were covering the Paralympics: prior exposure to the Paralympics with a positive audience reaction from their past coverage; a desire, either on their part or on their news' organization's part, to raise disability awareness; the perception that the Paralympic Games were newsworthy – which included the assessment that there were good stories to be found at the Paralympics; and as a result of successful public relations campaigns that had been run by the National Paralympic Committees in their countries.

The Paralympic reporters who were interviewed all felt that the Paralympics were a real competition and that either there was an audience for their writing (although all admitted it was a smaller audience than for the Olympics), or there wasn't much of an audience for what they were writing about, but felt it was important to cover it anyway.

Gans (1979) has noted that this type of reporter comprised a minority of the reporters he studied.

> However, journalists with conscious values were in the minority, for the news media I studied seemed to attract people who keep their values to themselves....But equally important, the national media, and journalism

> generally, appear to recruit people who don't hold strong personal values in the first place… the abstention from values extended to story preferences, for when I asked people about their favorite story all pointed out that they had no favorites. They were only interested in "getting the story." (p 184-185)

One cautionary note must be added, however. Although the reporters interviewed didn't mention these factors, there were undoubtedly also some traditional news values also at work. The Japanese, German and local Utah reporters were surrounded by other reporters from competing news sources from their areas and must have been faced with the news value of competition in addition to the other reasons for covering the Paralympics. However, this does bring to light an interesting phenomenon - that these pockets of news competition do exist in relation to the Paralympics. In contrast to the lack of involvement of the major newspapers in America in regard to the Paralympics, there are entire media markets located outside of the United States that feel the competitive need to send reporters to cover the Paralympics.

In addition, some reporters from other countries seemed not to be overtly facing the specter of competition, but were sent as part of their news organization's decision to cover the Paralympics.

Prior Exposure to the Paralympics

When asked about the Olympic reporters perception that no one wanted to hear about the Paralympics and the Paralympics weren't a real competition, Tanaka, one of the Japanese reporters interviewed, noted that the Japanese media's interest in the Paralympics started when the Paralympics occurred in Nagano.

> Before the Paralympics were held in Nagano, we felt that way too. But Nagano changed all that. The Japanese press could see the Paralympics and could see that it was a worthwhile competition. They could see there were good stories there. So now we cover the Paralympics. (Tanaka, Interview, March 9, 2002)

Luis Alberto Martinez, a TV reporter with Televisa – Mexico, noted that he was covering the Paralympics even though there were no Mexican Paralympic athletes at the 2002 Paralympic Games, partially as the result of the audience reaction to his station's prior coverage of the Paralympic Games in Sydney.

> There was a big reaction in the Mexican public after we had a lot of coverage of the Sydney Paralympics. That's why we're here. We're not really a big crew, because of not having Mexican athletes, but we're covering the Paralympics. (Martinez, interview, March 14, 2002)

Raising Disability Awareness

Tanaka went on to note that he felt he was also covering the Paralympics due partially to his editor's desire to raise disability awareness.

> In Japan, the disabled are not seen. They are in their apartments, they are alone. My editor wanted me to cover the Paralympics so that the readers could learn more about them. He [the editor] covered the Paralympics in Nagano, and he feels strongly that it should be covered as a real competition. (Tanaka, interview, March 9, 2002)

Zuzana Wisterova, a Slovakian print reporter with the newspaper *Pravda*, noted that she was covering the Paralympics partly as a means of raising disability awareness. She felt that this was reflection of the changes that had happened in her country since the fall of Communism.

> It was something different before. Before, the disabled people were hidden by the socialist system … And then the world changed and this country changed … now it's normal and the [disabled] movement is stronger, much stronger. It's important to show that this is a part of life … It's interesting for these people [the Paralympians] and it's interesting for me. I think this belongs in a newspaper. (Wisterova, interview, March 14, 2002)

A reporter from Belarus said something very similar, while noting that the disabilities movement still had a long way to go in her country. She felt that there was not enough support and not enough care for disabled people in her country, but at least now the disabled weren't invisible as they had been before.

> In the time of Communism [they said] there are no disabled people - we have no disabled people. It was the time. In the Communist time it was very unpleasant to show that we have somebody who has one leg or one hand. (Anonymous, interview, March 14, 2002)

Paralympics Are Newsworthy

The Paralympic reporters all stated during their interviews that they felt they were covering a real competition. Ian Furness, an American broadcaster with the A&E Network, noted:

> Just because these athletes face some challenges physically doesn't mean they're not competitive … For somebody to say that these guys aren't competitive – that's wrong, because they are. When they say that, they [the Olympic reporters] have never seen a [Paralympic] event." (Furness, interview, March 9, 2002)

The journalists also stated that they felt there was an audience for their coverage of Paralympic games. They felt that it was smaller, but it existed.

Thomas Hahn, a German print reporter with the *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, noted that articles, if written well, could fit with a mainstream audience, but also stated that there was a contingent of disabled readers who followed disability issues.

> There are disabled people as well which are reading newspapers – that's my experience when I'm at events in Germany – that disabled people are very well interested in Paralympics for example. It is definitely a small audience but there is an audience. I think you shouldn't punish them in not reporting anything about this. In my newspaper it's a tradition that we always cover the Paralympics. (Hahn, interview, March 14, 2002)

Several of the reporters also noted that they had covered past Paralympic Games and had an interest in covering sports involving individuals with disabilities.

In addition, the reporters covering the Paralympics felt that there were good stories there. They noted that they had covered the Paralympics or other sports involving athletes with disabilities and had enjoyed the athletes and the experience.

National Paralympic Committee PR Campaigns

The reporters from Slovakia, Belarus, and Germany noted that the National Paralympic Organizations in their countries had run effective public relations campaigns with the press and that was one of the reasons they were at the Paralympic games. The reporters from Mexico and Germany also noted that they had been through sensitivity training, either with a National or International Paralympic Committee.

Discussion and Conclusion

Traditionally, scholars have noted the type of coverage (i.e. stereotypical) the disabled have received. However, the reporters the researcher observed covering the Paralympics were very careful as they covered the Paralympians and were consciously trying to write in an enlightened manner. They noted that they wanted to cover the Paralympics as a sporting event and make the disabilities a secondary issue. This reflected the ideal of disability related coverage espoused by John Clogston (1994) in "Disability Coverage in American Newspapers" when he stated that the progressive model of disability coverage was cultural pluralism.

> The person with a disability is considered a multifaceted individual whose disability is just one aspect of many. No undue attention is paid to the disability. The individual is portrayed as are others without disabilities. (p. 47)

In contrast, the Olympic reporters who, in their interviews, expressed the feeling that the Paralympic competitions among disabled athletes didn't qualify as legitimate sport didn't cover them at all. Therefore, a different manifestation of bias toward the disabled may be seen, in the context of the Paralympics, in a lack of coverage versus biased coverage.

The investigation also revealed the following paradigm differences between the Olympic and Paralympic reporters that were interviewed:

1. *The Olympic and Paralympic reporters had different views of audience interest and appeal in relation to the Paralympics.*

   The Paralympic and Olympic reporters had entirely different visions of who their audience was, and what would appeal to their readership. The Paralympic reporters felt that articles about disability sport belonged in their media outlets and would find an audience. Several noted that they took extra care to make their articles interesting to the mass audience because of their desire to raise disability awareness.

2. *The Olympic and Paralympic reporters had different sense of news values and the salience of sports involving those with disabilities.*

The Paralympic reporters felt that sports involving those with disabilities were newsworthy and should be covered for a number of reasons.

3. *The reporters had different views of the role of a journalist.*

The Paralympic reporters wanted to appeal to their audience, but had more of an emphasis on covering societal issues that were meaningful to them, including disability awareness.

4. *The reporters had different feelings about taking cues from larger newspapers/other news sources.*

The Paralympic reporters didn't care as much if they were alone in their coverage. The reporters, and their management, seemed to be guided by internal cues versus external cues. Also other factors were deemed as more important than whether other newspapers or TV stations were covering the event.

One local Utah reporter initially stated that, "we're here because of proximity. If it had been held somewhere else, we wouldn't have covered it." However, a few days later he approached the researcher and said that he had just received a memo his editor had sent to his newspaper staff, that discussed the high value the editor placed on the Paralympics. The editor also noted in the memo that none of the major newspapers in America had covered the Paralympics.

Jack Nelson (1994) noted in the book "The Disabled, the Media and the Information Age," that reporters can have a great impact on society and on the lives of disabled people through their coverage.

> The mass media have an opportunity to build a greater understanding between society and this emerging minority group that is clamoring for its rights. If they are aware of that tremendous power and responsibility they bear, the media can make a difference not only in portrayals and perceptions but eventually in the

> quality of life for these millions of Americans. Ultimately, considering the power impact of the American media abroad, that impact may have positive reverberations worldwide. (p. 16)

In regard to the Olympics and the Paralympics, there was some progress during the 2002 Winter Paralympics. The A&E channel ran several hours of Paralympic coverage each day, which was a first-time experience for that channel. This coverage may have raised some national disability awareness.

Also, the economics of the Paralympics followed the trend where advertising acts as a catalyst for better portrayals of disability (Shapiro, 1993). A&E was able to find sponsorship for these hours of coverage. Also, the Newspaper Agency Corporation, the financial management department of the *The Deseret News* and *The Salt Lake Tribune*, approached the newspaper editors and stated that they had been able to sell advertising for a Paralympic special section and asked for content to fill the section. Perhaps, in time, the Paralympics will find acceptance among American reporters.

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Students as Citizens:

Experiential Approaches to Teaching Civic Journalism

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June 10, 2002

Paper Presented at the Civic Journalism Interest Group

AEJMC 2002 Convention
Miami Beach, Florida

August 7 - 10, 2002,

Buck Ryan designed and implemented the experiential instructional model while Chike Anyaegbunam planned, executed and reported the evaluation of the process.

Partial funding for this project was provided by the Teaching and Learning Center, University of Kentucky

Abstract

As newsrooms across the United States of America gingerly embrace various civic journalism principles and practices, journalism schools have also started to experiment with innovative curricula and instructional models for teaching the "new journalism." This paper presents a description and evaluation results for one of such emerging instructional models. The study departs from other descriptions of instructional models for civic journalism education because a classroom experimental design was used to evaluate the effectiveness and usefulness of the project.

As an increasing number of newsrooms across the United States gingerly embrace various civic journalism principles and practices as institutionalized aspects of their daily routine, journalism educators in the nation have also started to experiment with innovative curricula and instructional models for introducing their students to the "new journalism." Journalism schools across the country have begun to incorporate the ideas of civic journalism into their courses, presenting it both as a practical tool for daily reporting and as an important philosophical question to be considered by journalists and students alike (Voakes, 1999; Corrigan, 1997a; Whitehouse and Clapp, 2000). In many journalism education programs the focus on the newsroom as a one-way detached factory of facts is slowly being permeated by a new vision of journalism that demands two-way connections with readers and greater newsroom involvement with community discussions and action (Hetrick, 2001; Whitehouse and Clapp, 2000).

Literature Review

The results of a poll of all U.S. newspapers over 20,000 circulation conducted for the Pew Center for Civic Journalism indicate that nine out of 10 editors surveyed believe that the future health of the newspaper industry depends on more interactions with readers - not less. Changes in the technology and the geography of journalism and in what editors perceive as topics of interest to their readers as well as the changing colors of communities are fueling these trends (Peck, 2001). This finding, according to Peck, is a crucial and potentially industry saving realization and it is realization that is markedly different from the newsroom culture of the last 30 years. In that era, most editors and professional journalism schools, Peck argues, have focused most of their creative work on the craft of journalism. Indeed, according to James K. Batten, late president of the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain, journalists of this period had no reason to feel any concern for the financial health of their newspaper or about its acceptance in the marketplace. To them, all that was foreordained. "Financial strength translated into political confidence, Batten said. "We (the journalists) prided ourselves on our ability to tell critics to go to hell. We were, after all, 'the press,' beholden to no one" (Rosen, 1999, pp. 22-23)

But today the focus has shifted to the relationship newsrooms have with their readers. Several factors have necessitated such a shift in focus. According to Jay Rosen (1999), journalism in America since the early 1990s, has confronted several disturbing trends including an erosion of public trust in the news media, weakening demand for serious news, flagging interest in politics and civic affairs, cynicism and disengagement. Journalists and scholars of civic engagement since then have worried that too few citizens are involved in community life, and that those who choose not to take part come to their indifference out of frustration and helplessness, a feeling that somehow the system works for the insiders and special interests, but not for them (Schaffer, 1995). Common indicators of citizenship – registering, voting, volunteering, have shown that citizens are shunning public life (Putnam, 1995; Paxson, 1999). The implications of these for democracy, according to Schaffer (1995), are serious; self-government depends on individuals taking responsibility. The implications for journalism are equally ominous; citizens who don't participate have little need for news. In other words, there has always been a close relationship between journalism and democracy. One without the other is impossible. Democracy rests on a foundation of citizen involvement, but without news and information citizens need to become involved, democracy cannot survive. Discounting the outpouring of public support and show of nationalism consequent on the events of September 11, 2001, the above observations correctly depict the growing disconnection between the American citizenry and civic affairs and the potential dangers to democracy and the media.

What is Civic Journalism?

During the 1990s also, journalists and civic leaders who worry about the corrosive forces mentioned above have taken steps to invigorate journalism's role in democracy. The new type of journalism that has emerged as a reform movement to reclaim the American civic life and politics has different labels. Besides being known as civic journalism, this reform movement also goes by many names including "public journalism" and "community journalism." Although the new journalism, according to Corrigan (1997b) is still groping for a universally accepted definition, Fouhy and Schaffer (1995) have offered a working definition. To these scholars, civic or public journalism is a set of "initiatives, which make a deliberate attempt to reach out to citizens, to listen to them, and to have citizens listen and talk to each other." According to the Pew Center, "Civic journalism is both a philosophy and a set of values supported by some evolving techniques to reflect both of those in your journalism. At its heart is a belief that journalism has an obligation to public life - an obligation that goes beyond just telling the news or unloading lots of facts. The way we do our journalism affects the way public life goes. Journalism can help empower a community or it can help disable it" (Pew Center, 2002). Civic journalism argues against the journalistic tendency for reporters to assume an attitude of "detached objectivity" and the practice of placing a premium on conflict and framing issues in accordance with extreme positions (Voakes, 1999).

The notion of civic journalism emanated from experiments at various newspapers in the late 1980s, and gained national attention in the 1990s with the "People Project" conceived and implemented by *Wichita Eagle* and its parent company, Knight-Ridder, under Davis Merritt. However, the notion did not became a national movement until 1993, when the Pew National Foundation embraced public journalism and set funding opportunities for news media who wanted to experience the new journalism (Voakes, 1999).

Civic journalism claims its rationale from the notion that people become engaged in public life when an issue they care about is at stake. Studies indicate that people are not apathetic about their communities, but they often feel left out of the decision-making process by elected officials, other community leaders or the media. They do not want to be mere followers, but instead want to be involved in defining community issues and problems, and in determining the possible solutions and courses of action. King and Hustedde (2001) argue that the public does not want to engage in questions that have obvious answers. People, according to the authors, become engaged with questions that have an impact on their concerns – questions that do not lead to self-doubt, but stimulate discussion and build competency. Thus, citizens who live in communities that place a high value on traditions are interested in questions such as, "How can we preserve our values, such as neighborliness and our spiritual roots, while we grow economically?" Other questions deal with newcomers, or nagging concerns about class and race divisiveness such as, "How can we strengthen relationships between ethnic groups, races, classes and age groups in order to build a stronger community?" These questions are especially relevant in areas where these divisions have led to hatred or violence. Others are drawn to quality-of-life questions such as, "How can we improve the quality or availability of housing for the elderly, the poor, young families or newcomers?"

Indeed, civic journalism returns communication to its original two-way dialogic roots and casts doubts on the continued efficacy of the conceptualization of journalism based on a linear transmission model of communication. Operating in the one-way transmission mode, journalists have historically defined the individuals in the community as receivers, readers, and audiences, and placed them at the "passive" end of the scale. As passive recipients, individuals are not supposed to know enough to make the correct decisions about the world in which they live. Hence the duty, nay, the mission of the journalist is to merely disseminate information and instruct the individuals. Once presented with the unbiased and correct information about the desirable directions, individuals will arrive at the right decision and engage in the desired behavior. Journalism practice informed by this logic suffers from the overuse of information and leaves the individuals in the untenable position of being atomized and helpless but ultimately responsible for making the right decision to improve the social health of the community. When individuals fail to live up to this expectation, traditional journalism often adopts a blame-the-victim stance. This attitude lingers in the institutional memory of newsrooms and journalism schools, reemerging in various anti-civic journalism arguments that extol such journalistic ethos as objectivity, detachment, and public education reminiscent of Walter Lippmann. Civic journalism, according to its proponents, does not discountenance the information dissemination role of the journalist but argues for the expansion of this role to include more active and interactive forms of mutual learning. This expanded role recognizes individuals in communities as the people who wear the shoe and know where it pinches in line with the thinking of John Dewey and more recently, Paolo Freire. Communities are more receptive to information that helps them gain power in dealing with public issues. This role advocated by civic journalism requires the newsroom to provide communities with the platform for engaging in horizontal discussions that lead to definition and prioritization of not only obstacles to their socio-political and economic emancipation but also to engage in appreciative inquiry into community assets and strengths (Elliot, 1999; Cooperrider and Srivastva, 1987). The new role also urges newsrooms to act as vertical conduits for community-defined issues to become serious agendas in political and economic discussions among the leaders and in their quest for office. When this becomes a reality in newsrooms, journalism would have accomplished its community empowerment and social emancipation functions.

In summary, civic journalism seeks to bridge the dangerous detachment of community that has become the norm in too many news media. It encourages journalists to discover how their work can be improved by first acknowledging the detachment, then reaching out to citizens as sources and resources, thus once more, bringing citizen voices, ideas, problems, concerns and suggestions to the foreground of American public sphere (Schaffer, 1995). Civic journalism exponents argue that the accomplishment of this task does not only benefit the community but also serves the self-interest of news media organizations in that it seeks to make the participating media more valuable to consumers by connecting them to their communities (Denton and Thorson, 1995).

Empirical Research on Civic Journalism

Most empirical research related to civic journalism have been concerned with the perceptions, attitudes and reactions of practicing journalists to the new conceptualization of their profession (Peck, 2001; Voakes 1999). Less work has been done on instructional models for teaching civic journalism in schools. Civic journalism does not have the chance of survival if new entrants into the profession are not socialized in its tenets and skills. Journalism schools across the nation are approaching this task from various angles. While some schools delay any instructional activities related to civic journalism until the capstone course, others begin such discussions in the introductory courses. Most schools of journalism elect to use the traditional experiential learning model that favors community service, fieldwork or internships (McKeachie 1999; Hetrick, 2001; Whitehouse and Clapp, 2000).

Because the incorporation of civic journalism principles and practices into journalism school curriculum is still at its infancy, most of the research published on it is descriptive (Hetrick, 2001; Whitehouse and Clapp, 2000). Thus, not many empirical classroom research have been undertaken to study the effectiveness and usefulness of the various instructional models used for preparing students for professional work in newsrooms interested in practicing civic journalism.

The study reported in this paper seeks to contribute to journalism educators' understanding of what students perceive as effective instructional models for teaching civic journalism. The definition of civic journalism and the explication of its principles and practices presented above as well as suggestions from previous research on professional journalists, provided concepts that guided the design of the present study.

The study was exploratory and sought to discover students' perceived value of a civic journalism instructional model that makes them experience the principles and practices of civic journalism as ordinary citizens of a community and as journalists operating in that community. It also was set up to determine the effects of the instructional model on students' knowledge and perceptions of 12 principles and practices of civic journalism.

The study was thus set up to answer a research question and test 3 hypotheses:

RQ: What are students' perceived value of a civic journalism instructional model, that makes them experience the principles and practices of civic journalism as ordinary citizens of a community and as journalists operating in that community?

H1: Participation in an experiential instructional model of teaching civic journalism will decrease the tendency for students to perceive journalists who practice civic journalism as detached and objective observers of public life.

One goal of this study was to gauge how deeply such traditional "journalistic reflexes" as "detached objectivity," "neutrality," and "placing a premium on conflict" are deeply ingrained in students' psyche. According to Merritt (1996), these are some of the professional instincts that prevent journalists from engaging in civic journalism.

H2: Participation in an experiential instructional model of teaching civic journalism will increase the students' approval of the notion that journalists should interact more with their audiences and readers

This reflects Merritt's call for journalists to interact more with a wider variety of citizens, especially the marginalized, not only to ascertain what's on their minds, but to also bring their voices into discussions of public issues.

H3: Participation in an experiential instructional model of teaching civic journalism will increase students' acceptance that journalists should play a more active role as facilitators of community dialogue that leads to definition of community problems and identification of solutions

This reflects the major view that has emerged from various civic journalism experiments in which the public journalist expands his/her traditional role to include an activist element. The journalist in these experiments often go beyond reporting the community to convening town hall meetings to help the community address the causes of the problems. In many cases the journalist provides the community with the communication channel to confront city hall.

Method

Participants

A total of 107 undergraduate students enrolled in an introduction to Journalism course taught in fall semester, 2001, in a southern university, participated in the experiment, which lasted the entire semester. The participants were between ages 19 to 32, (mean age = 29). The students represented different regions of the United States, came from various socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, and are mostly pre-majors in journalism and agricultural communications with interests in print, magazine or radio/TV broadcasting. Although the study intended a census of all students in the class, a final sample of 84 usable surveys were available for pretest-posttest analysis and for the summative evaluation.

Students in the class were selected for the study because the course was their first encounter with college-level instruction in journalism. Thus, the participants' were not necessarily aware of the principles and practice of civic journalism. However, they were expected to have preconceived ideas and beliefs about the tenets of "traditional" journalism, given their prior exposure to depictions of the profession in popular media and possible high school level encounters with journalistic principles. A pretest was used to ascertain this assumption prior to the participants' exposure to principles and fundamental skills of civic journalism and was used as a baseline measure. The experiential instructional process employed during the semester served as the treatment and a posttest was used to determine whether participants' preconceived beliefs and knowledge about journalism changed. A separate summative evaluation was also used to measure students' perceptions of the relevance and usefulness of the experiential instructional process.

Procedures

Experimental Design: The students participated in various simulated civic forums, in a fictitious city named Buckville, U.S.A., either as ordinary community members who interact with the news media to identify community-felt needs, problems, solutions, and to elect a mayor, or as news reporters practicing civic journalism. A one-group pretest-posttest preexperimental design was used to determine the effects of the instructional model on the students' perceptions of the principles and practice of civic journalism (Frey et al, 2000, pp.183-185).

Pretest: For the pretest, a baseline survey of all students in the class is used to ascertain their knowledge and perceptions of civic journalism before they are exposed to the treatment.

Treatment: The treatment comprises of planned class activities, including lectures, transformation of the class into a community, and identification of community-felt needs and problems. As part of the treatment, the students practiced civic journalism reporting skills in facilitating community involvement in discussions of felt needs and in the search for solutions to identified problems.

This experiential model departs from the traditional approach to experiential learning in which journalism students are sent into communities to find and write stories on issues of importance to the people and thus give voice to the silenced and overlooked (Whitehouse and Clapp, 2000). The instructional model under discussion also differs from models in which students use communities as labs in which to practice such civic journalism skills as civic mapping, town hall meetings or reporting diversity (Hetrick, 2001).

The reported model instead created a lab situation in which students experienced first hand what it feels like to be ordinary citizens of a community (Buckville) and what happens when they operated in that community as journalists and campaigners for political office. About ten students acting as civic journalism reporters used various skills to interact with the community. Coached by the instructor and using a format adapted from "The People Project," the students used polls, community discussions and other civic journalism techniques to determine issues of utmost importance in the community (Rosen, 1999, pp. 47-50). Information collected include the demographics of the community, priority issues that caused stress in the community, what made the community proud, and possible solutions to the problems deemed important by the community. Results of the various community deliberations and polls reveal that demographically, the community (class) was actually more diverse than the students assumed. More people than was originally assumed were from out of state and the mean age of the class was 29 compared with the community perception that the average age of the students in the class was 21. The four top challenges or sources of stress as determined by the students were time management, self-discipline, deciding on a major, and difficulty making new friends. The sources of pride in the community include No 1, the campus atmosphere: basketball, football, girls, rock concerts, sororities/ fraternities, and the excellent academic programs on campus, which came second. These community deliberations were covered and reported in various types of media ranging from town crier (oral tradition) to radio, television and print. As the last activity in the community, a race for the mayor of Buckville was staged and three students volunteered to run. The class unanimously rejected the first two mayoral candidates because according to them, the "politicians" did not address issues deemed important by the community. However, the third candidate "an independent" was elected because her campaign speech outlined practical solutions to community identified problems such as a proposal to set up various peer learning groups to help students utilize their time more efficiently and improve their grade.

In addition to the experiential activities briefly described above, the course also introduced students to various styles of journalistic writing, editing, newspaper design, history, ethics and roles of journalism, theories of democracy and how to pursue your dream job. The materials used for the class include handouts on various writers such as Walter Lippmann and John

Dewey, examples of civic journalism projects and various newspaper articles and news stories. The textbooks used in this introductory course include: *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect*, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenthal, Crown Publishers, New York, 2001, *The Editor's Toolbox: A Reference Guide for Beginners and Professionals*, Buck Ryan and Michael O'Donnnel, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 2001, and Jay Rosen's *What are Journalists For?*

Posttest: A repeat administration of the baseline survey to the students at the end of the project was used as a posttest to measure any changes in students' knowledge and perceptions of civic journalism.

Summative Evaluation: This experiment falls under what McKeachie (1999) labels "Classroom Research" and is cognizant of the methodological and criterion problems associated with such studies as outlined by McKeachie (1994). To improve the validity of the study, a separate evaluation was carried out at the end of the semester, in addition to the pretest-posttest survey. This summative evaluation measures participants' ratings of the relevance, usefulness or efficacy of the experiential approach in teaching new journalism students the basic skills and principles of civic journalism. The items on this evaluation ask students about themselves rather than focusing on an assessment of the instructor (McKeachie, 1999). For instance, participants were asked questions related to the usefulness and relevance of the project to their ability to learn the basic skills and concepts of civic journalism covered in class.

Measures

Instruments

The Pretest-posttest questionnaire: A 12-item questionnaire was used in the one-group pretest-posttest design (see appendix A). Twelve discrete statements were used to determine the changes in students' knowledge and perceptions of civic journalism. Each of the statements was used to rate an aspect or principle of civic journalism (e.g., "Journalists should be objective detached observers of public life rather than fair minded participants." Students agreed or disagreed to this statement on a 5-point scale from "strongly disagree" (1) to strongly agree (5)). The instrument also contains statements used to rate students' perceptions of the discrete practices of civic journalism (e.g. " News media organizations should require reporters and editors to include in their stories possible solutions to community problems." Participants indicated how often they felt news media should practice each selected civic journalism principle on a scale with frequencies ranging from "never" (1) to "always" (4)). All answers were on a Likert scale and students used bubble sheets to indicate their preferences.

The Summative Evaluation: A composite scale was created using 13-items (see appendix B) to measure students' perceived utility of the instructional model. This is consistent with Wade (1999) who argued that student evaluation is one of the most consistent indicators of an instructional model's quality and effectiveness. The summative evaluation composite scale produced a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of $\alpha = .93$.

For the summative assessment, students agreed or disagreed on a 5-point scale from "strongly disagree" (1) to strongly agree (5) with statements on student satisfaction with and perceptions of the effectiveness of the Buckville experiment. For example, participants agreed or disagreed with the statement: "The Buckville community experiment helped me understand the differences between civic journalism and the traditional practice of the profession." Students were also asked to disagree or agree with such negative statements as "The Buckville experiment was a waste of students' time." To also gauge the influence of the class on students' likelihood of practicing some aspects of civic journalism as professionals in a real world newsroom, participants rated their likelihood of practicing civic journalism on a 5-point scale from "very unlikely" (1) to "very likely" (5). The question was: "If you are ever employed in a newsroom, how likely are you to practice civic journalism?" The pretest-posttest experimental study and the summative assessment did not replace the university teacher course evaluations for the course, which were 3.4 and 3.4 respectively (4.0 scale).

Results

A matched-samples t test was used to test the effects of the instructional model on students' (N = 84) ratings of their perceptions and understanding of 12 civic journalism principles and practices (see Table 1). The test revealed significant differences for four of the 12 civic journalism items (1, 7, 8, and 9) yielding enough information to test two out of the three hypotheses (H1 and H3). There were significantly different pre-post results for objectivity [$t(83) = 5.2$, p =0001], convene conversation about community issues [$t(83) = 3.13$, $p = .002$], broader community role for newspapers [$t(83) = 2.84$, $p = .006$] and provide solutions to community problems [t(83) = 4.42, p = 0001].

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Each of the 12 Civic Journalism Principles and Practices (see Appendix A)

	Item	Pretest		Posttest			
		M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*P*
1.	Journalists must be objective	2.62	1.22	3.37	1.30	5.260	.0001
2.	Opinion Polls	4.45	.61	4.46	.63	.139	.890
3.	News media should use of opinion polls	4.21	.66	4.32	.71	1.054	.295
4.	Opinion polls should guide news coverage	3.90	.67	3.93	.82	.245	.807
5.	Interact with readers	4.06	.87	4.23	.77	1.667	.099
6.	Neutrality of the news media	3.43	.95	3.38	1.11	.349	.728
7.	Convene conversation about key community issues	3.43	1.16	3.89	.94	3.135	.002
8.	A broader community role for newspapers	4.08	.94	4.36	.69	2.842	.006
9.	Provide solutions to community problems	2.01	.83	2.42	.78	4.429	.0001
10.	Represent all stakeholders in stories	3.11	.97	3.27	.75	1.505	.136
11.	Report on choices for addressing community issues	2.96	.94	3.12	.81	1.419	.160
12.	Frame stories around conflict	3.24	.63	3.21	.62	.257	.798

Note. DF = 83 for all items.

Based on descriptive data from the composite scale, (see Table 2) all the students (100%) perceived the instructional model used for the Buckville experiment as a valuable teaching process for introducing the principles and basic skills of civic journalism (*M* = 3.84, *SD* =. 66). Most students (75%)

Table 2:

Perceived Value of the Buckville Experiment (see Apendix B)

Description of Item	*N*	**Mean**	*SD*	**Strongly Agree/Agree**	**Neither Agree nor Disagree**	**Disagree/ Strongly Disagree**
Helped me understand differences between civic and traditional journalism.	84	3.80	.94	75%	13.1%	11.9%
Helped me understand civic journalism	84	3.93	.88	82.1%	9.5%	8.4%
Made class more important	84	3.74	1.04	67.8%	20.5%	11.9%
Took too much time in class	84	3.73	.88	76.2%	13.1%	10.7%
Increased my interest in learning more	84	3.50	1.10	58.4%	19%	22.6%
Exposed me to the current status of journalism	84	3.75	.96	76.2%	10.7%	13.1%
Ideal method for introducing students to civic journalism	84	3.92	.93	80.9%	8.3%	10.7%
Made the class more exciting	84	4.06	.83	83.4%	9.5%	16.6%
Was a waste of students' time	84	3.94	.91	83.3%	8.3%	8.4%
Made me more aware of the role of journalism in a democracy	84	4.06	.80	88.1%	7.1%	4.8%
Made me aware of the need for a new approach to journalism	84	3.83	.89	75%	16.7%	8.4%
Increased my understanding of declining voter turnout	84	3.85	1.02	75.6%	14.3%	11.9%
	N	Mean	*SD*	Very Likely/Likely	Neutral	Unlikely
How likely are you to practice civic journalism?	84	3.92	.88	73.8%	17.9%	8.3%
				Very Useful/Useful	Neutral	Not useful
Overall, how useful was the course	84	3.8471	.6671	100%	0%	0%
Valid N (listwise)	84					

agreed or strongly agreed that "The Buckville experiment helped me understand the differences between civic journalism and the traditional practice of the profession (*M* = 3.80, *SD* = .94)." In the same vein, 82.1% of the participants agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "The Buckville experiment helped me understand some of the professional attitudes and rudimentary skills needed in the practice of civic journalism" (*M* = 3.93, *SD* = 88). Most students (73.8%) stated that they are likely or very likely to practice civic journalism upon graduation (*M* = 3.92, *SD* =. 88). However, most students (76.2%) were also of the opinion that "The Buckville experiment took too much time in class" (*M* = 3.7, *SD* = .88).

Discussion

The study confirmed that the revered journalistic tenets of detached objectivity, neutrality and placing a premium on conflict tested with items 1, 6 and 12 on the questionnaire are indeed already deeply ingrained in the students' minds (see Table 1). The experiential instructional model did not have any consequential changes on students' attitudes toward these tenets as shown by the non-significant changes in the pre-post means of items 6 and 12. Indeed for item 1 students' positive attitude increased significantly despite efforts made during the course to argue that this particular principle was a hindrance to the true practice of civic journalism as espoused by Merritt. Some of the possible reasons for this outcome relate to the fact that as was hinted in the methods section, the students have already been socialized in the tenets before coming into the experimental class. Moreover, other courses the students might have been taking concurrently with the experimental class could have stressed the virtues of these tenets.

All the items used for the second hypothesis (items 2,3 4 and 5) indicated only minor positive shifts in students' attitudes and knowledge toward the notion that journalists should interact more with their readers (see Table 1). Several reasons can be advanced for this situation. Most probably, the strongest reason for the non-significant positive change in attitude is that the instructional model did not present enough participatory activities that enabled students to put this principle into practice.

The third hypothesis, which postulated that the instructional model would increase students' acceptance of the idea that journalists should play a more active role in the community, received the highest number of significant positive changes according to student ratings for questions 7, 8 and 9. Other questions used for the construct also showed some positive, albeit, non-significant shifts. This significant alteration of students' perceptions can be explained by the fact that the class was transformed into a community with the result that students actually experienced what civic journalism can accomplish for citizens. This particular finding echoes what has been discovered in previous studies with professional journalists. It might be difficult to change students' and professional journalists' attitudes towards some canonical pillars of traditional journalism, but the new community role advocated by civic journalism seems to hold some fascination for them (Voakes, 1999; Weaver and Wilhot, 1996).

The summative evaluation gives a comprehensive answer to the question that the research set out to answer. The students found the experiential instructional model very valuable although they claim it took too much time in class. Indeed, most students in the class will like to practice civic journalism when they finish school as long as they find jobs as news reporters in news organizations that have embraced the principles of the new journalism.

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Appendix A

1. Journalists should be objective detached observers of public life rather' than fair-minded participants

5. Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

2. It is desirable for news media organizations to ascertain what is on the minds of their audiences

5. Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

3. News media should use this information to help shape news coverage

5 Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

5. Reporters should interact with their readers in ongoing coverage

5. Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

6. Attempting to engage the public on hot topics compromises the neutrality of the news media

5 Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

7. News media should convene conversations about key community issues outside of the newsroom

6 Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

8. A newspaper should have a broader community role beyond printing the news

5. Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

9. News media organizations should require reporters and editors to include in their stories possible solutions to community problems

4.Always 3.Most times 2.Sometimes 1. Never

10. News media should make a conscious effort to ensure that all potential stakeholders are represented in their stories

4.Always 3.Most times 2.Sometimes 1. Never

11. News media should make a deliberate effort to report on the choices or trade-offs a community might need to make to address a community issue

4.Always 3.Most times 2.Sometimes 1. Never

12. Conflict sells newspapers. News media should therefore make a conscious effort to frame or peg their stories around conflict

4.Always 3.Most times 2.Sometimes 1. Never

Appendix B

1. The Buckville community experiment helped me understand the differences between civic journalism and the traditional practice of the profession.

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

2. The Buckville community experiment helped me understand some of the professional attitudes and rudimentary skills needed in the practice of civic journalism

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

3. The Buckville community experiment made what we were learning in class more important

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

4. The Buckville community experiment took too much time in class

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

5. The Buckville community experiment increased my interest in learning more about civic journalism

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

6. The Buckville community experiment exposed me to the current status and problems of professional journalism practice in the real world

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

7. The Buckville community experiment in civic journalism is an ideal method for introducing new journalism students to civic or public journalism.

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

8. The Buckville community experiment made the class more exciting

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

9. If you are ever employed in a newsroom, how likely are you to practice civic journalism?

5.Very likely 4.Likely 3.Neutral 2.Unlikely 1. Very unlikely

10. The Buckville community experiment was a waste of students' time

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

11. The Buckville community experiment made me more aware of the important role of journalism in a democracy, community building, public participation in elections and governance.

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

12. The Buckville community experiment made me aware of the need for a new approach to journalism advocated by Jay Rosen and others.

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

13. The Buckville community experiment increased my understanding of why voter turn out has been declining in the United States.

5.Strongly agree 4. Agree 3. Neutral 2. Disagree 1. Strongly disagree

HOW PUBLIC SPHERE THEORISTS HAVE INFLUENCED CIVIC JOURNALISM

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PAPER PRESENTED IN THE CIVIC JOURNALISM INTEREST GROUP OF AEJMC — AUGUST 2002 — MIAMI BEACH, FL

ABSTRACT

HOW PUBLIC SPHERE THEORISTS HAVE INFLUENCED CIVIC JOURNALISM

Civic journalism has grown out of a number of philosophical and theoretical traditions, including the writings of 20th-century theorists of the public sphere, particularly John Dewey, James Carey, and Jurgen Habermas. This paper begins by outlining the views of these three concerning the role of journalism in relation to the public and democracy. It then discusses how these views have influenced civic journalism as expressed primarily by its leading academic proponent, Jay Rosen.

HOW PUBLIC SPHERE THEORISTS HAVE INFLUENCED CIVIC JOURNALISM

Civic journalism seeks not only to revive American journalism, beset by declining public trust, but also to reinvigorate the democratic process. Civic journalism advocate Jay Rosen (1993), a New York University professor, began one of his articles with what he called "some propositions about the task of a free press":

> - If journalism can be described as a purposeful activity, then its ultimate purpose is to enhance democracy.
> - Thus, democracy not only protects a free press, it demands a public-minded press.
> - What democracy also demands is an active, engaged citizenry, willing to join in public debate and participate in civic affairs.
> - No democracy — and thus, no journalist — can afford to be indifferent to trends in public (or private) life that either draw citizens toward the public sphere or repel them from it.
> - Part of journalism's purpose, then, is to encourage civic participation, improve public debate, and enhance public life, without, of course, sacrificing the independence that a free press demands and deserves (p. 3).

Daily journalism must go beyond providing an accurate account of events, holding government accountable, and commenting on public affairs, Rosen said. It also must take an active role in building "community connectedness," of encouraging the public to become involved in civic affairs (p. 3).

Civic journalism involves more than just politics, Ed Fouhy (1994) wrote when he was executive director of the Pew Center for Civic Journalism. "It is about civic life and the values we espouse as citizens of a democratic nation; values like informed participation in the important decisions we must make to sustain our communities" (p. 261). Clearly, Rosen and Fouhy are advocating strong ties between journalism and civic life.

This aspect of civic journalism moves it beyond efforts to "fix journalism" to efforts to "fix government through journalism," in the words of professor Carl Sessions Stepp (1996, p. 40). Civic journalism advocates want to expand the role of journalists past what Michael Schudson (1999) called the "trustee model" in which "professional journalists provide news they believe citizens should have to be informed participants in democracy" (p. 119). Media studies student Burton St. John III (1999) said civic journalism brings the media's agenda-setting role into the open and attempts to bring others into the decision-making process. Media organizations face a choice of remaining disconnected from the public or of trying to engage the public in setting the agenda (p. 54).

However, the recommendations that journalists take responsibility for enhancing public life have alienated many traditionalists who see civic journalism as a threat to their standards of objectivity and independence. Even those who accept the interconnection between journalism and civic life raise questions about how to accomplish such goals.

Civic journalism is part of a larger effort to renew American civic life, which explains its emphasis on journalists examining their roles in society. In a *Quill* magazine article, Arthur Charity (1996), who authored one of the earliest books on civic journalism, wrote:

> [Civic journalism] is itself only one part of a much larger story: the democratic renewal going on in a lot of professions and communities all at once with only the roughest coordination, in which grass-roots leaders and politicians, businesspeople, librarians, foundations, and scholars (as well as journalists) are shaking off the dead skin of their old way of doing things and trying something new (p. 23).

The larger renewal effort has no single name and features many approaches, but it has "some overarching themes, chiefly the attempt to find a more participatory politics that focus[es] on problem solving, citizen deliberation, and a quest for the common good that [is] more than the sum of individual preferences" (Rosen, 1999b, p. 267). A recent book titled *Civic Innovations in America: Community Empowerment, Public Policy, and the Movement for Civic Renewal* (Sirianni & Friedland, 2001) devotes nearly 50 pages to a chapter on civic journalism, focusing primarily on its origins and specific projects. The chapter concluded, "Just as the public journalism movement has developed by learning from civic innovation in other areas, its future is clearly linked to civic renewal on a broad scale" (p. 233). Professor Philip Meyer (1998) wrote that civic journalism advocates such as Rosen and Davis "Buzz" Merritt, a long-time journalist, have articulated the current flaws in the process of political communication. But, more explanation is needed in another area. Meyer wrote:

> What remains to be articulated by researchers is an even broader view that connects the troubles of journalism to the troubles of society. One of the most important potential uses of the public journalism movement is that it can help us to see that a news medium and its community are parts of a single system, and that to repair journalism, it is necessary to try to repair the community (p. 254).

Understanding the connections between civic journalism and the broader philosophical and political theories from which it has emanated may increase understanding of its goals and future prospects.

Civic journalism has grown out of a number of philosophical and theoretical traditions, including the writings of 20th-century theorists of the public sphere (Peters and Cmiel, 1991), particularly John Dewey, James Carey, and Jurgen Habermas.

The following research question was posed:

- What influence have these theorists of the public sphere had on the views of the leading proponents of civic journalism?

This paper begins by outlining the views of Dewey, Carey, and Habermas concerning the role of journalism in relation to the public and democracy. It then answers the research question about how these views have influenced civic journalism as expressed primarily by its leading academic proponent, Jay Rosen.

Theorists of the public sphere: Dewey, Carey, Habermas

The views of Dewey, Carey, and Habermas are examined here separately.

Dewey

As they relate to civic journalism, the ideas of John Dewey are expressed primarily in *The Public and Its Problems* (1927). For Dewey, democracy was a form of social organization in which people realized their full potentials. Dewey saw communication as "the problem of getting people to be full, participating members in the public life of a community" (Peters, 1989, p. 205). Dewey (1927) offered communication as the hope for American democracy. He argued that public life had gone into "eclipse":

> Till the Great Society is converted into a Great Community, the Public will remain in eclipse. Communication can alone create a great community. Our Babel is not one of tongues but of the signs and symbols without which shared experience is impossible (p. 142).

Association with others is a universal trait of human beings, Dewey (1927) said. The public consists of people brought together by mutual interests or concerns (pp. 34-35). He wrote:

> This public is organized and made effective by means of representatives who as guardians of custom, as legislators, as executives, judges, etc., care for its especial interests by methods intended to regulate the conjoint actions of individuals and groups. Then and in so far, association adds to itself political organization, and something which may be government comes into being: the public is a political state (p. 35).

Democracy, Dewey said, "is the idea of community life itself" (p. 148). An "inchoate public" will function democratically when individuals have a "responsible share according to capacity in forming and directing the activities of the groups to which [they] belong and in participating according to need in the values which the groups sustain." Groups themselves also must liberate "the potentialities of members of [the] group in harmony with the interests and goods which are common" (p. 147).

Dewey (1927) emphasized the need for face-to-face communication. "Publication is partial and the public which results is partially informed and formed until the meanings it purveys pass from mouth to mouth." When information passes from one person to another in the local community, it "gives reality to public opinion" (p. 219). Walter Lippmann (1922/1991) thought that effective public opinion existed when people had proper representations of the world, and the press served a democratic function by providing those representations, as developed by social scientists. In contrast, Dewey said public opinion was formed through community life and conversation, and the press needed to help carry on the conversation (Carey, 1989, pp. 81-82).

Unlike Lippmann, Dewey stressed the "enlightenment of the public" over the "enlightenment of government administrators" (Westbrook, 1991, p. 310). The role of enlightening the public fell on the popular media. Dewey (1927) wrote that the telegraph, telephone, radio, and rapid printing presses had created opportunities for transmitting information quickly, but "the intellectual form in which the material is presented" had not kept up (p. 179). News about what has just happened must be integrated with information from the past. He wrote, "Without coordination and consecutiveness, events are not events, but mere occurrences, intrusions; an event implies that out of which a happening proceeds" (p. 180). He called much of what passed for news trivial and sensational, with an emphasis on crime, accidents, and conflicts. In contrast, "a genuine social science would manifest its reality in the daily press"; to be effective in directing public opinion, the social sciences must be part of the "daily and unremitting assembly and interpretation of 'news'" (pp. 180-181).

Dewey was a leading figure in the philosophical tradition known as pragmatism, which developed in the United States and was influenced by the developments in science in the 19th century, particularly the theory of evolution. Dewey defined pragmatism this way: "The theory that the processes and the materials of knowledge are determined by practical or purposive considerations — that there is no such thing as knowledge determined by exclusively theoretical, speculative, or abstract intellectual considerations" (as cited in Beck, 1979, p. 121). One book said this about pragmatism:

> As a philosophical revolt, then, pragmatism is a movement that rejects philosophies which speculate on abstractions or empty first principles. It looks to concrete cases, to particular consequences, and to ideas and meanings that will "make a difference." It is also against monistic and absolutistic positions: there are no "wholesale views" of reality (Dewey) or single solutions for the problems of men. Pragmatists also reject purely logical procedures such as coherence as a method for either facts or values. Thought is experimental, and its full meaning includes active manipulation and control beyond logical interference (Beck, 1979, p. 123).

For pragmatists, something is true if it works, if it is successful in solving problems. Dewey is associated with a biological version of pragmatism: "Thought is purposive in seeking to help the organism adapt to its environment, and successful adaptation in terms of survival and growth provides the criterion for the truth of ideas" (Beck, 1979, p. 124).

For Dewey, social arrangements are a means of creating individuals. Individuals strengthen their capacities "only through communication, sharing, and joint participation in society's goods. Thus, the general problem of social and political values is the institution of those social conditions whose consequences insure the joint participation of persons in shared experiences." People grow through participation, and this is what defines democracy (Beck, 1979, p. 127). While society consists of many groups, Dewey thought that a general or common interest developed because of the consequences of group activity for those not participating in the activity. "The state develops from that interest." The community gives the state its functions and powers (Beck, 1979, pp. 128-129).

Decades later, Dewey's work has continued to influence communication scholars and civic journalism proponents. Some, however, point out the questions he left unanswered. James Carey (1989) noted these flaws in Dewey's work: "a congenital optimism, a romance with the small town, a disastrously simple-minded view of technology" (p. 83). Daniel Czitrom (1982) wrote that while Dewey "provided a rich and multilayered paradigm for communication," he provided little information about how to implement his ideas:

> It is unfortunate that Dewey could go no further in analyzing the forces of modern communication emerging in his own lifetime. One looks vainly in Dewey for a plain sense, or even hints, as to just how we might transform privately owned media of communication into truly common carriers. This omission reflected a bigger internal conflict in Dewey's thought: a lifelong ambivalence toward social planning. The urge in Dewey to dissolve any distance between theory and practice led to a political failure of nerve, a refusal to address the reality of social and economic conflict in the present (p. 112).

Dewey did acknowledge the commercial nature of the press. During the Depression, he said that too often the emphasis on press freedom served "the power of the business entrepreneur to carry his own business in his own way for the sake of private profit" (as cited in Czitrom, 1982, p. 112). Still, Czitrom said, Dewey "expressed great hope for the potential of new media to reconstitute neighborhood community values in a complex industrial society," but he did not address "the thorny political problem of how to transform the physical machinery of transmission and circulation" (p. 112).

Even Rosen (1999b) wrote that, while "Dewey's faith in public capacities was inspiring, his dream of a more vital public culture unrivaled in its reach and intensity," Dewey did little to specify how to accomplish his goals (p. 67). Dewey specifically stated in *The Public and Its Problems* that his study was "an intellectual and hypothetical one. There will be no attempt to state how the required conditions might come into existence, nor to prophesy that they will occur" (1927, p. 157).

Carey

The meanings of the terms "communication" and "democracy" vary with the historical contexts in which they occur, according to professor James Carey (1993), a leading figure in the U.S. culturalist approach to communication studies. "Whatever democracy as a way of life may be, it is constituted by particular media of communication and institutional arrangements through which politics is conducted." Also, "a medium of communication is defined by the democratic aspirations of those involved in politics" (p. 3). Modern journalism, in which journalism serves a national society and journalists act as watchdogs over government, began in the 1890s, but "its time now seems to be about up," Carey wrote. He cited efforts to renew public life through communication channels such as cable television and talk radio (p. 4).[1]

American politics faces problems with the decline of the public and public life, including the loss of a "common interest" and a "common language . . . in which the numerous American publics can address one another," Carey (1992) said. He called the public the "god term of journalism" because journalism cannot succeed without a public. "Liberal society is grounded in the notion of a virtuous public," but today no one is sure what the public is or where to find it (p. 11). Journalists seldom address whether the press actually informs the public or how the press can represent the public, he wrote. Concern for the public sphere disappeared, starting in the 1920s, with "the emergence of public opinion and the apparatus of the polling industry." Political theorists became more concerned with interest groups than with the public. Interest groups operate in the private sector and have a propagandistic purpose (pp. 11-12). Lippmann was representative of this trend, Carey said. With his emphasis on a class of experts, Lippmann "takes the public out of politics and politics out of public life"; "he depoliticized the public sphere." The role of journalists was to relay information from the experts to the masses and keep the experts honest through publicity. The dilemmas of journalism today stem, in part, from this conception, Carey contended (pp. 12-13). He continued:

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[1] The article was written before the widespread growth of the Internet, which could be added to the list today.

> We have a journalism of fact without regard to understanding through which the public is immobilized and demobilized and merely ratifies the judgments of experts delivered from on high. It is above all a journalism that justifies itself in the public's name but in which the public plays no role except as an audience: a receptacle to be informed by experts and an excuse for the practice of publicity (p. 14).

Carey (1999) said the trustee model of journalism was "undermined by its own success" (p. 58). Journalists acting as trustees served the public well through the Depression, World War II, the Cold War, and Watergate. After Watergate, however, government became "progressively ideologized and privatized" and the public lost confidence in the political process (p. 59). Despite journalists' claims that the press and politics are separate from each other, Carey stressed that politics and journalism are not independent entities (p. 51-52). They "are always formed by mutual adaptation such that what we mean by democracy depends on the forms of journalism through [which] we conduct politics; what we mean by journalism depends on the central impulses and aspirations of democratic politics" (p. 52) The public has a symbiotic relationship with both the press and politics, but over the last 30 years, this symbiosis has broken up because at least two of the parties — the press and the public — have drifted away. The press has become more and more focused on profit and its economic mission; the public has abandoned "the entire enterprise" or "drifted off in either private life or in search of a new politics" (p. 53).

Carey (1992) discussed the public as an entity that grew out of the 18th-century city and the printing press itself. "The public was activated into a social relation by the news, and, in turn, the primary subject of the news was the public, the opinions being expressed in public by merchants, traders, citizens, and political activists of the time" (p. 14). The public was a location, "a sphere, a sector of the society," "a seat of political power" located between the state and the private sector. The press "was not an end in itself, but was justified in terms of its ability to serve and bring into existence an actual social arrangement, a form of discourse, and a sphere of independent, rational, political influence." This public was, however, restricted by class, race, and gender (p. 15).

If public life developed as just described, the First Amendment "rights of assembly, speech, and press are not private rights but, rather, are designed to protect and enhance the public realm" (Carey, 1992). What Carey called the "crucial events in the history of American journalism" — the decline of the partisan press, the rise of the penny press, the use of telegraph to transmit news stories — "contributed to stripping away this public context from the First Amendment" (p. 16). The fundamental problem confronting journalism today is how to resurrect the public, which "has been dissolved," Carey said. He expressed uncertainty about how to restore the public to American politics and journalism, but offered some ideas for consideration. American journalists have a "scientific conception of journalism" in which journalists see their role as informing an audience. He recommended throwing out this vocabulary and thinking of journalism "as a record, a conversation, and as an exercise in poetry and utopian politics" (p. 20). Journalism should be a record of the significant events in a community, "one of the primary instruments through which the culture is preserved and recorded." Journalism should "preside over and within the conversation of our culture: to stimulate it and organize it, to keep it moving, and to leave a record of it so that other conversations — art, science, religion — might have something off which to feed." Journalism also should be viewed not in relation to science but "more as an extension of poetry, the humanities, and political utopianism"; this would generate a "new moral vocabulary" for journalism (p. 21). Carey concluded: "Neither journalism nor public life will move forward until we actually rethink, redescribe, and reinterpret what journalism is; not the science or information of our culture but its poetry and conversation" (p. 22).

The First Amendment, Carey (1997) argued, defines a republican community in which people are free to assemble without interference from the government, talk to each other about issues of mutual concern, publish and circulate their ideas, and no one can be excluded from participation on the basis of religion. He cited the work of Louis Brandeis and Alexander Meiklejohn in supporting this notion of a political community. Carey wrote:

> The press exists not as the surrogate holder of the rights of the public but as an instrument which both expresses the public and helps it form and find its identity. The press, then, as an institution must support the maintenance of public space and public life; it must find ways in which the public can address one another, and it must enhance those qualities of discourse such as decent manners and formal social equality that allow public space to develop and to be maintained (pp. 12-13).

Carey recognized the difficulty in getting the press and public to adopt this philosophy. While certain trends during the 1992 elections, such as call-in radio and public debates with public questioners, represented efforts to increase interest and participation in national politics, Carey (1995) said such efforts would be hindered by the "commitment of all segments of the political spectrum to an ideology of rights-based liberalism" (p. 399). Unless people are willing to accept the idea that they are defined, in part, by the communities of which they are a part, he saw "no possibility of recovering a meaningful notion of public life or public opinion" (p. 400). He continued:

> Unless we can see the story of our lives as part of a narrative of a public community, a community of general citizenship rather than one restricted by class, race, gender, and so on, while simultaneously believing that our lives are also embedded in communities of private identity — family, city, tribe, nation, party, or cause — can journalism and public opinion, the press generally, make a moral and political difference serve not merely as a vehicle of "effects" (p. 400).

The last 20 years have seen the "expansion of individual rights and the erosion of common identities, the growth of entitlements and the erosion of common judgment," which he said "is not a recipe for social progress" (p. 400). Carey disputed liberals' arguments that "an emphasis on the common good and public life creates prejudice and intolerance" and that "such a vision of democracy is both nostalgic and dangerous" (p. 401).

Carey's (1999) ideas have led him to support civic journalism. He wrote that civic journalism has a special urgency because it represents one way to reunite the public, press, and government (p. 52). Civic journalism is the first journalistic reform effort since World War II "to assume the shape of a social movement with a semblance of formal organization." While civic journalism is not beyond criticism, "unsettled times" emphasize the need to support reform efforts. Civic journalism needs defense against two opposing tendencies. The "most dangerous and pervasive" is the tendency to commit journalism to a "market model" concerned primarily with profits (p. 49). "The rhetoric of markets has seeped so deeply into the rhetoric of journalism that it is becoming impossible to understand journalism in anything other than economic terms." The second source of opposition to civic journalism comes from journalists who defend traditional practices against any changes (p. 50). Journalists claim to represent the public, but they make the decisions about what politics and institutions to cover, thus passing moral judgments. In contrast, civic journalism "represents an attempt to be honest about the role of journalists in contemporary life, to bring journalists into the 'conversation of the culture.' " Carey praised civic journalism's recognition that journalism and democracy depend on each other and that journalism should cultivate "an ethic of citizenship rather than cults of information and markets." Carey noted that civic journalism has been more than just idealism and has addressed the realities of modern journalism (p. 51).

Civic journalism, Carey (1999) said, has been motivated by more than just the events of the last 30 years. It also stems from "the inclination to civic republicanism that is deeply within the American political tradition." This includes a desire to participate in self-government and deliberate with fellow citizens. "It asserts that citizenship is more than rights and interests but also a matter of identity. This identity requires a sense of belonging, a concern for the whole, a moral bond with the community whose fate is at stake," in addition to public affairs knowledge (p. 61). The press, Carey said, must address the public as citizens, not as consumers. The press also must support other institutions that encourage civic involvement (p. 62). He wrote:

> Public journalism has committed itself, in my view, to the reawakening of an antecedent tradition of journalism and politics, one that emphasizes local democracy, the community of locale, and citizenship as against the distant forces that would overwhelm us. . . . In its attempts to find a new expression of what journalism might mean and be, one consistent with the tradition of civic republicanism, public journalism performs a great service in reminding us of what is worth protecting (pp. 64-65).

Carey challenged critics to find a better solution to problems confronting journalism and democracy: Civic journalism "provides some oppositional force to the next wave in the global concentration of power and the tyranny of the market" (p. 64).

Carey has supported civic journalism by working with journalists. The Project on Public Life, which Rosen directed at one time, conducted seminars at the American Press Institute, which provides training for working journalists, from 1993 to 1997. Rosen and Merritt attended every session, and Carey attended on a regular basis. The seminars played an important role in helping "to form the identity of the [civic journalism] movement" and trained many journalists who participated in civic journalism initiatives in their newsrooms (Sirianni & Friedland, 2001, p. 221).

Habermas

Jurgen Habermas is associated with the Frankfurt School, whose members originally based their ideas on Marxist thought but who more recently have moved in different directions. The Frankfurt School's critical theory originated in 1923 with Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, and their colleagues at the Frankfurt

Institute for Social Research. Habermas' work draws from a wide range of scholarly thought, with communication playing a major role (Littlejohn, 1992, pp. 248-249). One commentator, Michael H. Lessnoff (1999), said that as Habermas' thought has changed over the years, he has left the Frankfurt tradition behind (p. 269). While Habermas is a prolific writer, Lessnoff also said much of Habermas' work — except *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* — is difficult because it is "long winded, repetitive, and abstract" (p. 70).

Habermas (1962/1989) has argued that the press plays a vital role in creating a properly functioning public sphere. Habermas developed a specific notion of the public sphere as it arose in 18th-century England, France, Germany, and the United States with the rise of bourgeois capitalism. The economic changes occurring with the rise of capitalism produced a "civil society," which for Habermas included the marketplace, religion, and domestic life — all areas liberals tried to protect from state control. This created a separation between government and civil society, between the public and the private. For Habermas, the public sphere is the space between civil society and the state. "This space allows citizens to address the state but demands that they leave their individual interests behind when they do so." The citizen must follow two rules when speaking in the public sphere: personal negation and universal supervision. Personal negation means that the person hides personal interests. Universal supervision means the person must assume everyone in society observes actions in the public sphere. With these rules, all people were free and equal in public, no matter what their wealth, age, or religion (Nerone, 1995, pp. 154-155). The independence of private property, discussions in the coffee houses and salons, and a market-based press "created a new public engaged in critical political discussion. From this was forged a reason-based consensus which shaped the direction of the state" (Curran, 1991, p. 83). Even language indicated the rise of a "public," Habermas (1962/1989) said. In Great Britain, from the middle of the 17th century on, people used the term "public." Before, "world" or "mankind" were more common. Similar changes occurred in French and German (p. 26).

Habermas (1962/1989) traced the evolution of the "bourgeois public sphere" from the 17th century to the first half of the 19th century. After that, the public sphere became dominated by increased state and economic interests. Increasingly, corporate and state powers dominated the public sphere; they bargained with each other and excluded the public. The growth of industrial capitalism and the social welfare state of mass democracy led to the decline of the public sphere. The government became more interventionist in society, and large organizations and groups become influential in politics. This led to the "refeudalization" of politics and displaced the role of the public. The media became a manipulator of public opinion instead of a conduit for public debate. As public relations, advertising, and entertainment become more prominent in the mass media, the public became just a group of spectators (Curran, 1991, p. 83; Dahlgren, 1995, p. 8). In modern society, the press "has lost much of its public role" (Allen, 1993, p. 4). The result is that the "world fashioned by the mass media is a public sphere in appearance only" (Habermas, 1962/1989, p. 171). As the press became more commercialized and professionalism increased its power as an institution, Habermas said it also had a part in destroying the public sphere. Journalism moved from being a literary activity to a technical occupation (Allen, 1993, p. 5). In modern society, "the public sphere has to be 'made,' it is not 'there' anymore" (Habermas, 1962/1989, p. 201).

Although Habermas noted that the original public sphere was limited to a literate, propertied class, his ideas have been criticized for idealizing this period in history. James Curran (1991) wrote, however, that even if Habermas' version of history is not completely accurate, his concept of the public sphere can prove useful.

The public sphere is "a neutral zone where access to relevant information affecting the public good is widely available, where discussion is free of domination by the state, and where all those participating in public debate do so on an equal basis." Within the public sphere, people determine the ways society should develop, and the media aid in the process by providing a forum for public debate and "by reconstituting private citizens as a public body in the form of public opinion" (1991, p. 83). Despite the role of the media, Habermas' public sphere exists "in the active reasoning of the public. It is via such discourse that public opinion is generated, which in turn is to shape the policies of the state and the development of society as a whole" (Dahlgren, 1995, p. 8).

Peter Dahlgren (1995) argued that the concept of the public sphere remains useful: "One could say that a functioning public sphere is the fulfillment of the communicational requirements of a viable democracy." The concept even has parallels with the Anglo-American concept of the "marketplace of ideas," which emphasizes the citizens' need for useful journalism. Both ideas are normative and contrast with reality. He noted, however, that Habermas' conception of the public sphere is anchored in "a critical perspective of democracy." While the shortcomings of the marketplace may lead to calls for reforming journalism, the disparity between the ideal public sphere and reality goes further. "It evokes wide-ranging critical reflection on social structure, the concentration of power, cultural practices, and the dynamics of the political process" (p. 9). A vision of the public sphere is useful in conceptualizing how it might be attained in a democracy (p. 11).

What has influenced civic journalism?

What influence have the theorists of the public sphere had on the views of the leading proponents of civic journalism, particularly Jay Rosen?

Rosen (1995a) said the academic theory for civic journalism has borrowed from Habermas' work on the public sphere, Dewey's *The Public and Its Problems*, and

Carey. Overall, Dewey and Carey seem to have had the most influence on Rosen's theories underlying civic journalism. Rosen also emphasized the pragmatist goal of making communication scholarship public and letting civic journalism evolve in actual practice — trends that have significantly influenced its development.

The work of each scholar concerned about public opinion and the public sphere builds on that of his or her predecessors. Sirianni and Friedland (2001) said Carey has had the most influence in reviving interest in the Lippmann-Dewey debate among communication scholars. As early as the 1970s, Carey was a prominent person in a "new school of American cultural studies, appropriating the pragmatist tradition in the sociology of George Herbert Mead and the political philosophy of John Dewey." In the 1980s, he wrote a series of essays in which he recommended changes in journalism to revive democracy. Carey's conception of the public comes primarily from Dewey, who proposed that the communication media might help improve civic life "by evoking a community of rational public discourse." Dewey saw communication as an ethical principle (p. 192). As civic journalism grew in the early 1990s, some journalists read Carey's work. His work also influenced Rosen, who saw "himself as a translator between the academically rooted, Deweyan theory, and a group of working newspaper executives, editors, and reporters" (p. 193).

Carey, with his emphasis on Deweyan themes, influenced Neil Postman, Rosen's dissertation supervisor and author of *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (Lambeth, Meyer, & Thorson, 1998, p. 2). Rosen wrote his doctoral dissertation at New York University on the Lippmann-Dewey debate. Throughout his writings, Rosen expressed a great deal of respect for the work of Carey. In his 1999 book, Rosen wrote:

> My intellectual debt to him [Carey] is recorded in these pages. But they cannot convey my gratitude for his many contributions to the movement for public journalism. . . . There is no scholar who has thought more deeply about the

> subjects that concern me, and none more willing to share what he knows (1999b, p. xi).

Discussions of the Lippmann-Dewey debate appear repeatedly in the literature of civic journalism. The debate, representing that between realists and participatory democrats, "revolved around values, the perceived consequences of relying on mass judgment, and assumptions about the potential ability of community to promote participatory democracy," David K. Perry (1996) wrote in a book on mass communication theory. Both Lippmann and Dewey realized that massive changes in society meant democracy did not function as conceived; both also wanted "experts" to improve democracy, although their specific ideas on this topic differed (Perry, 1996, p. 134). Merritt (1998) argued that a world based on Lippmann's democratic realism, "particularly his insistence that government by elites is the only viable alternative for democracy," is not working in modern times. Dewey stressed that people were not as passive as Lippmann portrayed them. Two trends, Merritt said, demonstrate Dewey's point. One is the rise of the conservative right that wants less government intrusion in people's lives. The other is the civic renewal movement in which people are organizing to attack societal problems. Journalists need to adopt this value: encouraging "broad citizen engagement in public life in all its aspects" (p. 4).

Rosen wrote that the Lippmann-Dewey debate raised fundamental questions about what to expect of citizens in a democracy, but the issues raised by Lippmann and Dewey seemed to fade with the rise of public opinion polling in the 1930s, the commercial emphasis of media organizations, and the emphasis on journalistic objectivity. Rosen decided that Lippmann's analysis led to a dead end, and Dewey's analysis offered more opportunities — finding ways "people might form themselves into a public capable of grappling" with issues. Civic journalism began with the idea that journalism was contributing to the disintegration of politics in the late 1980s

(Merritt & Rosen, 1995, pp. 19-21). "Public life" — which Rosen (Merritt & Rosen, 1995) defined "as everything from bowling leagues that draw people out of the home, to political debates that draw leaders together with citizens" — has to go well for people to form themselves into a public. Journalists need to promote improved public life. Rosen said civic journalism was a translation of Dewey's concerns from the 1920s into modern times (p. 24).

Civic journalism has been guided by principles of pragmatism, which is associated with Dewey. Rosen (Gibbs, 1997) wrote:

> [Civic journalism advocates] have drawn on the American tradition of pragmatism, of learning to do things better, of adopting the ideas that are practical and that help you do your work. And we've appealed to some of the classical American values — democracy, community, self-reliance, invention. Civic projects have to somehow work in the grain of the communities in which they arise (p. 80).

In an essay encouraging scholars to engage in public scholarship, defined as "things that can only be known with others in the public arena," Rosen (1995a) stressed the importance of continuing the conversation between academics and journalists (p. 34).

As an example of this, Rosen (1999b) discussed a 1990 meeting he had with Knight-Ridder editors. He was impressed with their willingness to discuss the decay of community life. Rosen said his presence at the meeting was unusual because most academics from the "political left" view media corporations as maximizers of profit and threats to culture. "The notion that corporations themselves had cultures, some portion of which might be 'public' — that is, devoted to a vital civic purpose — would have struck most of my academic colleagues as spectacularly naive," he wrote. While the editors did have concerns about future revenues for the newspaper industry, they also demonstrated concern for a profession they loved (pp. 25-26). As Rosen listened to the Knight-Ridder editors, he said the phrase "freedom of the press" took on new meaning:

> Perhaps the commercial press couldn't break free of the profit motive. But journalism could alter its established creed, learn again what made it valuable to democracy. It had some room to maneuver within the boundaries that made it a business and a professional code that honored neutrality over commitment (p. 27).

In another article, Rosen (1991) wrote that it is "far from obvious that the evisceration of public life is a welcome prospect for all media owners" (p. 273).

Rosen (1999b) has adopted a "civic" approach to press scholarship. He began with the ideas of former Knight-Ridder executive James Batten, journalist David Broder, Dewey, Carey, and Merritt and mixed them with his own (p. 71). He then had to:

> Find a language that isn't airy or obscure, fashion with it a story, or a sequence of arguments for change, add illustrations from the field, and take the whole thing public, bring it out into the open in as many forums as you can find. As the different story gets around, people react and, by reacting, push the idea along. There was a method here, although I was only dimly aware of it at first. Rather than persuade an entire profession of the soundness of the idea, you multiply the number of platforms from which the sound is heard. You get more people to speak it, and the "it" becomes what they're saying and doing (p. 71).

In adopting this approach, Rosen said he was borrowing from the pragmatism of Dewey and William James. "In the pragmatic view, a good idea is good because you can do things with it. The more you can do, the better the idea." He noted that this approach varies greatly from traditional scholarship (p. 72).

In another article, Rosen (1995a) said academics engaged in public scholarship must give up their claim to expertise. "As soon as I become the expert in public journalism, I know I have failed, for public journalism has to be what journalists say it is, what they decide to do with it," Rosen said. An academic philosophy or critique is relevant only if journalists become persuaded to implement it in their work. In Rosen's case, he needed to know where "the openings for a stronger public philosophy" might exist in the professional culture of journalism. To answer that question, he had to become conversant in journalistic culture and begin experimenting. He saw his role as helping to merge the philosophy and practice of civic journalism by talking with journalists. Eventually, the work must become that of journalism itself, "for if public journalism cannot live within the craft and become normalized, then it will have failed." Rosen said that what he does as a journalism professor is not theory, research, or criticism, but instead it involves "relationships." "These relationships with journalists are the proving ground for the ideas about democracy that matter to me. To the degree that these relationships work, public journalism lives. To the degree that the relationships falter, the approach is faltering" (p. 37). In his book *What Are Journalists For?* Rosen (1999b) wrote:

> Trained scholars can tell you a lot about what's wrong with the press. Some may try to suggest reforms, rouse the imagination by bringing a better journalism (and perhaps a better world) into view. Yet they cannot complete the act their thinking begins because they are not the makers of journalism (p. ix).

In yet another article, Rosen (1994) discussed the political responsibilities of the media intellectual. He asked what those who study communication are doing to make democracy work (p. 364). Early graduate schools sought to train students for civil service, but by the 1890s, most people who attended graduate school became academics rather than civic leaders. "The mission of professors shifted from preparing people for public life and toward reproducing their own academic selves" (p. 366). In *The Public and Its Problems*, Dewey called for intellectuals who were more focused on the needs of democracy. Instead of focusing their work toward the public, academics focused on their peers and the "movers and shakers who might call on academics for expert advice." Scholars need a public identity beyond their professional relationships with other scholars, Rosen said (p. 367).

Journalists and professors, Rosen (1994) said, need to work together because "neither group, operating alone, can turn evident facts into public truths." Professors must work with journalists to find a common language for civic journalism, and journalists must then find a common language with readers and viewers. Scholarship must be translated to a lay audience (p. 368). "Academic understanding earns public credentials when it engages others as they struggle to arrive at understandings that 'work' for their purposes." Going public does not require media academics to abandon theory, but they do have a political responsibility "to make a public place for intellect that others can inhabit as they struggle to understand and use the media wisely" (p. 369). Rosen concluded that journalists need to begin thinking about the public in a more serious way, and academics need to join them in this pursuit (p. 370). His suggestion for doing this is civic journalism. Critical scholarship needs to proceed on two tracks, Rosen said. The first is critical theory, which concerns itself with such issues as how to conceive of the public sphere. The second track is "connected criticism," which concerns itself with how to operate in the "sphere of publics" — "the social space we enter when we leave the realm of the private." Both journalism and communication studies have their own public spheres (professional organizations, conferences, publications), but "connected critics should be thinking about joint conferences, joint journals, joint organizations, and a joint rhetoric with professional journalists" (p. 380).

In finding a common language that will be understood by journalists who do not have doctoral degrees, academics need to set aside abstract theories. Rosen (1999a) acknowledged the contributions of Habermas' theory of the public sphere and the rich debate it has evoked among scholars in numerous fields. However, the "technical and dense" language used by Habermas makes it inaccessible to most outside of academia (pp. 32-33). Habermas and scholars who have responded to his work play an important role in developing the concept of the public sphere, but journalists interested in democracy and public life are generally not well versed in critical theory and do not understand the vocabulary used in the scholarly discussions (p. 35). One of the goals of civic journalism has been to break out of the "fortress of critical theory." Civic journalism asks how to move the concerns about the public sphere out of the university and into the public. Fortunately, Rosen said, the work of some scholars, such as Carey, is more understandable to journalists. "The version of public sphere theory present in Lippmann and Dewey actually made its way into wider and wider arenas as a result of both the ferment surrounding public journalism and journalists who were reading the likes of James Carey" (p. 36). This ultimately brought discussions about the public sphere before a much wider audience. "What emerged was a lively, intelligent, and contemporary discussion that was not exclusively academic in orientation." As this occurred, "Lippmann and Dewey and Carey were now 'in' the actually existing public sphere, alive among members of the working press, in a way that Jurgen Habermas and [scholar] Nancy Fraser were not" (p. 43).

Rosen (1999a) thinks his public scholarship approach has worked with civic journalism. Civic journalism, he wrote in a book chapter, "is an idea that 'happened.' " It happened because of the actions of journalists, professors and writers, foundations, and civic groups not connected with journalism — what he called the "action of the idea." The concept of civic journalism became an "adventure" within the American press. "This is not a simple matter of recognizing how theory got applied in practice, for it is just as correct to say that practice was applied in theory." Civic journalism is many things going on simultaneously (p. 21). The adventure of civic journalism had no fixed goal, no overall supervision, and no limits on who could participate; no one knew the paths it might take (p. 23). The action of civic journalism was driven by the goal of making journalism "more public" and the hope that action would lead to further experiments and discussion among both those inside and outside journalism (pp. 25-26). Rosen contrasted this approach with "fortress journalism" in which journalists rely on their professional culture for approval and do not talk with the public. Civic journalism tries to get inside the fortress (p. 27). "As a kind of action on the culture of the press, public journalism provoked those inside the fortress to come out and fight — that is, to fight for their own view of public life and the press" (p. 28). Civic journalism has forced American journalists to address questions that for too long have been debated only in academic circles — questions about democracy, the public, and the purpose of journalism (p. 31). Rosen concluded his book (1999b) by saying that "now is a good time to ask what journalists should be doing, in the pragmatic tradition for which Americans are well known. A good pragmatist takes a look at the present state of things before coming to working principles; and so it is for journalism." Journalists need to envision a stronger citizenship and democracy (p. 300).

Rosen's emphasis on public scholarship parallels Harry C. Boyte's (2000) emphasis on "a 'public work' philosophy of civic education, which stresses the civic skills and sense of civic selfhood that can develop in sustained efforts by a mix of people who make a lasting contribution on questions that concern them." As a senior fellow in the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, he has worked with Public Achievement, an effort in which young people have created public projects on issues such as racial conflict and teen pregnancy. Faculty members need to take leadership roles in public life, he argued (p. 46). Faculty members tend to be disengaged from public life, which lessens their power politically and intellectually. Academics need to abandon the "discredited" theory of positivism and their role as "outside expert." The positivist structure of many academic disciplines and an emphasis on the scientific method hurt scholars because it leads to detachment from their fellow citizens (p. 48).

Boyte (2000) said scholars from numerous disciplines have "shaped an alternative pragmatic ground for knowledge theory." They emphasize that knowledge is generated by the community and is public in nature. "Provisional, open-ended, and evolving, it emerges from real-world problems and needs constant testing through practical action." This theory emphasizes apprenticeships and experiential learning; anecdotes become a means of testing theory (p. 49). In contrast, the positivist approach to most social science research assumes "that research agendas are best developed by detached researchers outside public settings." Despite the presence of positivism in academics, support for a "pragmatic, publicly grounded alternative theory of knowledge creation and learning" have come from many sources, including democratic theorists and communitarians (p. 50). Breaking traditions will require an intellectual movement toward change, Boyte said (p. 51).

Boyte sounds very much like Rosen in his plea for scholars to consider the role they should play in public life. His criticisms of positivism, with its emphasis on detachment and the scientific means of knowing, sound like Rosen's criticisms of journalists' notions of objectivity. Both reflect the philosophy of Dewey. Rosen's public scholarship approach has heavily influenced the development of civic journalism. Most — but not all — of his writing is aimed at journalists and average citizens rather than his fellow scholars, which has very likely promoted the growth of civic journalism practice but also left Rosen open for criticism about his lack of theoretical specificity. For example, in a review of Rosen's 1999 book *What Are Journalists For?*, professor Michael McDevitt (2000) wrote:

> Rosen seems to argue that everything conjured up in the controversy about public journalism is itself public journalism. Granted, a goal of the movement is to stimulate debate, but readers of this book might be disappointed if they expect that Rosen will finally pin himself down on troubling questions about the theoretical underpinning of public journalism (p. 443).

Conclusions

This paper has found that the theorists of the public sphere, in particular Dewey, Carey, and Habermas, have had a major influence on Rosen. Dewey envisioned democracy as a form of social organization in which people realize their full potentials, and face-to-face communication is the means to get people to participate in public life. The press exists to help the public carry on its conversation. As a pragmatist, Dewey said that theory and knowledge are determined by practical considerations, an emphasis very much in line with Rosen's approach to civic journalism.

Carey extended the theory of Dewey. Like Dewey, he sees communication as the key to democracy. He blamed journalism for contributing to the decline of public life because of its obsession with facts and reporting the views of experts. It does not help constitute the public and carry on society's conversations, the goal sought by both him and Dewey. Carey supported civic journalism as a means of reuniting the press, public, and government. Civic journalists, he said, have recognized that journalism depends on active citizens interested in contributing to public life. Some of Carey's language about democracy and journalism seems to suggest more transformation than civic journalism does, particularly in expressing concerns about market-driven journalism and in promoting an active public. Still, Carey seems to endorse the work of civic journalism as a means of addressing "unsettled times" in both journalism and democracy.

The contribution of Habermas to the civic journalism debate consists of his notion of the public sphere. He said the modern mass media, with their emphasis on public relations, advertising, and entertainment, have contributed to the demise of the public sphere where people debate issues confronting the community. The problem facing journalism, and society as a whole, is how to reconstitute the public sphere, a topic that has led to extensive debate within academia. Reconstituting the public sphere is one of the goals of civic journalism. As Rosen noted, however, few outside of academia have read Habermas' work because of its dense language. And, as a critical theorist, Habermas undoubtedly would place more emphasis on reforming news content and the social structure of the press than have most civic journalists.

Rosen's pragmatism and his notions of public scholarship have perhaps influenced the development of civic journalism the most. Ultimately, the pragmatic approach to civic journalism has contributed to its success and ability to adapt and learn from experience. Some may question how idealistic civic journalism proponents, particularly Rosen, can be labeled as pragmatists. In his writings, Rosen clearly has visions for both democracy and journalism that do not always match reality, but he also emphasizes the need for scholars to move outside academic circles to connect with journalists. Civic journalism has succeeded from a pragmatic standpoint because of collaboration between scholars and journalists, because of a willingness to learn from experience, because leading journalists have adopted the philosophy of civic journalism and spread the approach in their newsrooms. No single civic journalism project has implemented Rosen's idealism to the fullest extent, but together, many hundreds of projects work toward improving journalism and the democratic process. It is a case of strength in numbers.

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Disposition and Ethnicity in Competition-Based Reality Television Programming: An Examination of the Effects on Viewer Enjoyment

by

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Presented to the Entertainment Studies Interest Group, for inclusion in the Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Miami, Florida, 2002

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Abstract

The study investigates the extent to which disposition and ethnicity of contestants in a competition-based reality program are predictors of viewer enjoyment. To determine this, 149 White participants viewed photographs of White and Black males of varying dispositions, rating each as potentially successful and enjoyable program contestants. Findings support Zillmann's moral sanction theory, but fail to support findings from the disposition theory of sports spectatorship literature (specifically, Sapolsky, 1980).

On May 30, 2000, a television event occurred that has changed viewing and programming ever since: the premiere of CBS's hit show Survivor. This new form of reality-based show quickly built a large following in the United States to the extent that the Big Four broadcasting networks immediately began developing more competition-based[1] reality programming. Their efforts led to an onslaught of new shows including The Amazing Race (CBS), Big Brother (CBS), Bootcamp (FOX), Fear Factor (NBC), Love Cruise (FOX), The Mole (ABC), and Temptation Island (FOX).

Audience reaction to this brand of programming has been well documented ("CBS' fantasy island," 2000; Harper, 2002; Kiesewetter, 2001; Schlosser, 2001). For example, Survivor 2 managed to pull in an average of a 17.4 rating and a 27.0 share during its run in 2001, and Survivor 3 debuted with a 13.6 rating and a 20.0 share, which is 25 percent higher than the premiere of the original season of Survivor (Kiesewetter, 2001). The costs to produce these shows, even with $500,000 to $1 million prizes, are still negligible when advertising revenue is taken into consideration. For instance, CBS reportedly tallied more than $40 million in advertising revenue for the two-hour finale and follow-up interview show for the first season of Survivor alone ("CBS' fantasy island," 2000).

Because of the continued and growing popularity of these shows, it is important that we investigate what it is that continues to draw in viewers. To this end, the current project will look at several factors that contribute to why viewers watch and seemingly enjoy this type of programming. Though numerous, scholarly investigations into enjoyment of media entertainment (see Zillmann & Vorderer, 2000) have yet to yield a complete explanation as to why people enjoy certain programming. The practical consequence of that statement—as well as the ultimate frustration of the entertainment industry—is the fact that the ability to accurately determine what productions will ultimately meet with favorable ratings and higher levels of enjoyment is still somewhat guesswork. This inability to predict success has been quite evident during the latest wave of competition-based reality programming. For instance, many media critics have argued over why some of these programs, like Survivor, gain top ratings while similar shows, like Big Brother, do not.

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[1] For the purposes of this project, we are interested in reality programs that center on a competition between the show's participants. The basic formula of these shows is a group of people enter a competitive situation against one another with participants being eliminated as a part of the competition until one (or perhaps two) ultimately "win the game."

Theoretical consideration

The foremost explanation for enjoyment of media entertainment relies on the audience's perception of the characters (or in this case, contestants) involved: the various disposition-based theories of enjoyment (see Raney, in press-a, for the most thorough explanation of these theories). Disposition-based approaches have been utilized in examinations of fright-inducing entertainment (Hoffner & Cantor, 1991; Oliver, 1993), action films (King, 2000), non-competition-based reality programming (Oliver, 1996), crime-based fiction (Raney & Bryant, in press), news programming (Zillmann, Taylor, & Lewis, 1998), humor (Zillmann & Cantor, 1972, 1976), and sports spectatorship (Sapolsky, 1980; Zillmann, Bryant, & Sapolsky, 1989; Zillmann & Paulus, 1993). In the case of competition-based reality programs, the moral sanction theory of delight and repugnance[2] would seem most appropriate (Zillmann, 2000).

Like other disposition-based approaches to enjoyment, the moral sanction theory proposes that enjoyment of drama is based on a viewer's liking or disliking of characters and the outcomes experienced by those characters over the course of the drama. Specifically, the theory predicts that enjoyment will increase as good things happen to liked characters and as bad things happen to disliked characters. Similarly, enjoyment decreases as liked characters experience negative outcomes and disliked characters experience positive outcomes.

Moral sanction theory suggests the way that viewers form dispositions toward characters is by evaluating the moral propriety of the actions and behaviors of those characters. Thus, the liking or disliking of a character is a result of the viewer's approval or disapproval of the characters' actions, with approval or disapproval being interpreted through the moral lens of each audience member. Characters who display morally acceptable behaviors, as determined by the viewer, will be met with approval and thus liking. Similarly, characters perceived to be acting immorally will be met with disapproval and disliking. In terms of enjoyment, when a liked character is met with good fortune, audience members react positively and enjoyment increases. Enjoyment also increases when disliked characters are met with misfortune. Conversely, when liked characters fail and/or disliked characters succeed, enjoyment decreases.

Thus, enjoyment of dramatic presentations is ultimately a function of a viewer's judgment of the characters' morality; it is upon those judgments that dispositions are formed. However, disposition-based theories from other areas of entertainment study—namely, sports spectatorship[3]—indicate that additional factors may influence the formation of dispositions toward characters or participants. Specifically, Sapolsky (1980) found that the ethnicity of sports competitors and audience members plays a major role in disposition formation. In the study, researchers exposed Black and White participants to a videotape of a high school basketball game between an all-Black and an all-White team. The participants knew neither of the teams; thus, no previous dispositional affiliations existed toward the teams or their players. The outcome of the game was manipulated such that each participant viewed one of four scenarios: the White team wins by a narrow margin, the Black team wins by a narrow margin, the White team wins by a large margin, or the Black team wins by a large margin. In both conditions in which the White team won, White participants reported greater enjoyment than White participants in the other two conditions. Similarly, Black participants reported greater enjoyment when the all-Black team won compared to those who viewed the all-White team win. Thus, at least in the case of sports competition, ethnicity appears to play some role in disposition formation in cases where no disposition already exists.

While it has been shown that a correlation between the demographics of the characters and the viewers alone is not enough to predict enjoyment in dramatic fare (Zillmann & Cantor, 1976), an investigation into the role of these factors seems reasonable for competition-based dramas, which contain both elements of dramatic and sports programming.

Therefore, the goal of the project is to investigate the extent to which the ethnicity of a contestant in a competition-based reality program is a predictor of a viewer's enjoyment. The moral sanction theory, as applied to dramatic programming, would predict that the contestant's ethnicity has little or no effect on enjoyment; disposition formation (and subsequently, enjoyment) for dramatic programming is dependent upon a viewer's evaluation of the moral propriety of a contestant's behaviors. However, because the competitive element of the programming in question makes it quite similar to sports, the disposition theory of sports spectatorship would predict that the contestant's ethnicity might impact enjoyment.

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[2] Though this is the formal name for the theory, many entertainment scholars refer to it simply as "disposition theory" or "disposition theory of drama."

[3] For the latest review of this literature, see Raney (in press-b).

With this in mind, three hypotheses will be examined in this project. The first hypothesis is based on moral sanction theory and relies upon dispositions formed by viewer's moral judgments of the behaviors of program contestants. However, to control for previous exposure to actual programs, research participants were not exposed to actual program contestants displaying actual behaviors; instead, photographs of potential contestants were used. It was decided that by manipulating the countenance of the contestants, the researchers could also manipulate judgments of the contestants' moral propriety. In other words, "nice" looking photographs would render more positive dispositional affiliations; "not nice" looking contestants would render more negative dispositional affiliations. Therefore, half of the photographs used in the study had been previously rated as "nice" in appearance; the other half had been rated as "not nice." As a result, based on the moral sanction theory, the following hypothesis was derived.[4]

> H_1: White viewers of a competition-based reality television show will want to see contestants they perceive as "nice" be more successful on the program than contestants they perceive as "not nice."

Although the disposition theory literature on ethnicity and sports spectatorship is limited to the Sapolsky (1980) study, an additional hypothesis was generated regarding the ethnicity of the contestants.

> H_2: White viewers of a competition-based reality television show will want to see White contestants be more successful on the program than Black contestants.

Finally, with regard to the impact on enjoyment of both dispositions (based on moral judgment) and ethnicity, a final hypothesis was constructed.

> H_3: White viewers of a competition-based reality television show will want to see White contestants they perceive as "nice" be more successful on the program than all other contestants (i.e., White "not nice," Black "nice," and Black "not nice").

Methodology

One hundred and forty-nine White participants (73.2% female; mean age, 20.74 years) were recruited from communication classes at a state university in the southeast. After completing an IRB-approved consent form, participants were exposed to a series of nine photographs of possible contestants for a competition-based reality television show; the photographs depicted males between the ages of 18 and 26 years. Only photographs of males were used in order to limit the influence of gender differences. As previously mentioned, the moral propriety of the contestants was manipulated using photographs with distinct countenances; "nice" and "not nice" looking candidates were selected. Photographs were collected from various websites on the Internet including http://www.match.com, http://www.iwantu.com, and http://www.oneandonly.com.

Sixteen photographs were initially selected: four of "nice" White males, four of "nice" Black males, four of "not nice " White males, and four of "not nice" Black males. These photographs were then pretested with 59 persons meeting the same criteria as the target sample, with the participants indicating how "nice" and how "mean" the persons in the pictures were on a scale from 0 ("Not At All") to 10 ("Extremely"). Delta scores were calculated on the two items for each photograph. The two photographs in each category (total of eight) receiving the greatest (absolute value) delta scores were selected for the main experiment: two "nice" White, two "not nice" White, two "nice" Black, and two "not nice" Black males. A ninth photograph, picturing an Asian male, was included as a distracter. The nine photographs were placed in random order and displayed to the participants using a Microsoft PowerPoint slide show and a projection television.

Upon viewing a photograph, participants completed a questionnaire for the contestant that included eight (11-point bipolar) items judging their perceived moral propriety (i.e., good person, trustworthy, honest, friendly, mean, obnoxious, deceitful, and selfish) and three additional items that would predict (based on disposition theory) the viewer's enjoyment of the show if the pictured contestant participated (i.e., "I would like to see this person last the longest on the show," "I think this person will last the longest on the show," and "Overall, I would enjoy watching this person participate"). Finally, the participants provided demographic information, were debriefed, thanked, and excused.

Results

Manipulation Check

To ensure that the photographs intended to depict "nice" and "not nice" candidates were perceived in that manner, a repeated-measures (GLM) procedure was used to examine differences in the way that the respondents rated the photographs. Before this analysis could be completed, responses to the eight bi-polar adjectival items used to evaluate each contestant's morality were summed across all eight photographs and subjected to a principal-component analysis with Varimax rotation.[5] The analysis yielded a two-factor solution, explaining a total of 73.99% of the variance. The first factor (henceforth, "Positives"; eigenvalue = 3.40; Cronbach's alpha = .91) included the four items reflecting positive characteristics of the contestant: trustworthy (loading = .92), honest (.92), good (.90), and friendly (.80). The second factor (henceforth, "Negatives"; eigenvalue = 2.52; Cronbach's alpha = .84) included the four items reflecting negative characteristics of the contestant: selfish (loading = .87), deceitful (.84), obnoxious (.82), and mean (.75). Based on the factor analysis, a Positives and Negatives score was calculated for each contestant.

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[4] Because ethnicity of the viewer is a variable in the analysis, only data from White participants were included in the study.

When the ratings for all eight candidates were compared using a repeated-measures procedure, significant differences were found for the Positives ratings (F = 102.74, p < .001) and the Negatives ratings (F = 37.89, p < .001). More specifically, the four photographs intended to show "nice" contestants scored highest on the Positives ratings, while the four photographs intended to show "not nice" contestants scored highest on the Negatives ratings.

Furthermore, the average Positives and Negatives ratings for all four photographs intended to show "nice" contestants were compared to those of all four photographs intended to show "not nice" contestants. The repeated-measures procedure indicated that the respondents rated the "nice" contestants (M = 6.52; SD = .93) significantly higher than the "not nice" contestants (M = 4.74; SD = 1.08) on the Positives factor (F = 374.41, p < .001). Similarly, the respondents rated the "not nice" contestants (M = 5.04; SD = 1.04) significantly higher than the "nice" contestants (M = 3.96; SD = 1.08) on the Negatives factor (F = 107.41, p < .001).

Based on these results, it was assumed that the intended manipulation of contestant disposition was successful. That is, the four contestants intended to be "nice" were perceived as significantly nicer than the other four contestants, and the four contestants intended to be "not nice" were perceived to be significantly less nice than the other four contestants.

Hypotheses testing

In order to test the stated hypotheses, repeated-measures procedures were conducted on the three items intended to predict the viewer's enjoyment of the program based on a contestant's success: "I would like to see this person last the longest on the show," "I think this person will last the longest on the show," and "Overall, I would enjoy watching this person participate." Before this analysis could be conducted, responses to the three items were summed across all eight photographs and subjected to a principal-component analysis with Varimax rotation. The analysis yielded a single-factor solution, explaining a total of 68.85% of the variance. Each item in the factor (henceforth, "Predictors of Enjoyment"; eigenvalue = 2.07; Cronbach's alpha = .77) loaded at a minimum of .78. Based on the factor analysis, a Predictors of Enjoyment score was calculated for each contestant.

Three repeated-measures procedures were run in order to determine any significant differences in Predictors of Enjoyment across contestant disposition and ethnicity. To measure differences based on perceived contestant disposition, the Predictors of Enjoyment scores were summed across all four "nice" and all four "not nice" contestants (without regard to ethnicity). The procedure indicated that "nice" contestants (M = 3.92; SD = .66)[6] were rated significantly higher (F = 49.65, p < .001) than the "not nice" contestants (M = 4.36; SD = .80) on the Predictors of Enjoyment factor. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was supported.

To measure differences based on contestant ethnicity, the Predictors of Enjoyment scores were summed across all four White and all four Black contestants (without regard to disposition). The White contestants (M = 4.39; SD = .74) were not rated higher on the Predictors of Enjoyment factor than the Black contestants (M = 3.89; SD = .74); in fact, the opposite was observed. The Black contestants were rated significantly higher on the measure (F = 59.58, p = .001). Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

To analyze the relationship between contestant disposition and ethnicity, the Predictors of Enjoyment ratings were summed across the two contestants in each group: "nice" White, "nice" Black, "not nice" White, and "not nice" Black. Although the procedure yielded significant results (F = 39.55, p = .001), they were not in the direction predicted. The "nice" Black contestants (M = 3.62; SD = .79) were rated higher on the Predictors of Enjoyment factor than the "nice" Whites (M = 4.22; SD = 1.00) and "not nice" Blacks (M = 4.17; SD = 1.05), who were significantly higher than the "not nice" Whites (M = 4.56; SD = .94). Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Discussion

The goal of this project is to investigate the extent to which the disposition and ethnicity of a contestant in a competition-based reality program are predictors of a viewer's enjoyment. To determine this, research participants viewed photographs of possible White and Black male contestants who had previously been rated to be "nice" or "not nice." The participants rated each photograph on perceived disposition and how well the viewer would enjoy each contestant succeeding on the show.

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[5] All data for the distracter photograph were discarded.

[6] Lower mean scores indicate a more positive rating.

Zillmann's moral sanction theory predicts that viewers would enjoy watching the "nice" looking contestants succeed on the show, regardless of ethnicity. The findings from the present study lend further support to this claim. As predicted in H_1, the White participants in this study rated the "nice" contestants more favorably on the Predictors of Enjoyment factor than the "not nice" contestants.

Findings from the disposition of sports spectatorship literature (namely, Sapolsky, 1980) suggest, given the competitive nature of the programming in question, that ethnicity might also predict enjoyment. To examine this claim, the present study predicted in H_2 that White participants would want the White contestants, regardless of disposition, to be more successful that the Black contestants. The findings from this study fail to lend further support to Sapolsky (1980), and H_2 was not supported. In fact, not only did the White participants not rate the White contestants higher on the Predictors of Enjoyment scale, but they instead rated the Black contestants significantly higher than their White counterparts.

A similar finding was observed when the interaction between disposition and ethnicity was analyzed. As H_3 indicates, it was predicted that the White participants would want the "nice" White contestants to be the most successful on the program. Similar to the ethnicity-only analysis, participants actually rated the "nice" Black contestants highest, with the "nice" White photographs rated similarly to the "not nice" Blacks; as a result, H_3 also was not supported.

So, the present study lends further support to the moral sanction theory, but fails to do so for the Sapolsky (1980) contribution to the sports spectatorship literature. That statement would seem to be enough if we had not observed significant differences for ethnicity in the direction opposite than was predicted. Why did the White participants rate the Black contestants significantly more favorably on the Predictors of Enjoyment factor? One possible explanation could be that the participants just found the Black photographs more attractive than the Whites. As a result, perceived attractiveness—found to be a significant variable throughout much of social psychology, especially in the source credibility literature (see McGuire, 1985)—may have led to the observed results.

Another possible explanation for this phenomenon could be a result of the diversity of culture that exists at the testing site. Because respondents were drawn from a student population, interaction in campus organizations and activities could be factors that have influenced respondents' perceptions of racial issues and ideals. Furthermore, the campus boasts a 23% minority enrollment. Perhaps, because of the relatively diverse setting, ethnicity may play a less important role in social interaction with this sample.

A final (related) explanation might be that the participants more loosely identify with their own ethnic heritage than others. The notion of ethnic identity (or affiliation) has been investigated in several areas of the communication discipline, including humor (e.g., La Fave, 1972) and persuasion (e.g., Deshpande & Stayman, 1994). If the White participants identify loosely with their "Whiteness," then it follows that their "Whiteness" would play less a salient role in social interactions and judgments.

Whatever the explanation, we are skeptical that the role of ethnicity in disposition formation has been answered. Based on these findings, it does play a role—a significant role, for that matter. Future research should focus on better understanding that role. One proposed follow up to this study is to remove the disposition element from the research. The Sapolsky (1980) started with the premise that no dispositional affiliations existed between the White and Black viewers of the high school basketball game and the all-White and all-Black teams that participated. By removing disposition from the photographs, perhaps we will find different results. Another avenue of inquiry would be to replicate the study with an all Black sample as well.

Furthermore, perhaps these competitive reality-based shows are not "read" by the audience as a competition in the way that sports are "read." Perhaps the audience interprets the shows as dramatic fare only, which would explain why the moral sanction theory best predicted our findings. A better understanding of how viewers interpret these programs should also be a part of any subsequent research.

Several limitations to the study have already been alluded to: failure to control for the attractiveness of the targets, failure to measure ethnic identity, and use of a single-race sample. Addressing these limitations will make subsequent investigations in this area stronger.

While the current study does lend further support to disposition-based theories of enjoyment, it does not fully answer our questions regarding the role of ethnicity in the disposition-formation process. For better or worse, ethnic and racial identity has historically served as a lens through which persons interpret the world in which they live and in which they are entertained. It is our contention that the extent to which we can better understand how these interpretations operate, the better we can understand one another.

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Entertainment Studies

Marriage on television:

A content analysis

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Abstract

This study explored the way in which television presents marriage by analyzing the content of the 14 most popular television programs of the 2001-2002 television season. Statistical analysis using chi-square found a relationship between television program genre and attitudes presented toward marriage, as well as relationships between a character's marital status and the attitude expressed toward marriage and between the number of sexual partners and the attitude expressed toward sex. The study also offers a snapshot of the demographic make-up of characters who appear on American television sets every night.

Marriage on television: A content analysis

Introduction

A common refrain has emerged after decades of research into the effects of television on viewers: We are what we watch. Cultivation theory (Gerbner & Gross, 1976) suggests that television influences those who watch it by providing them with a skewed image of "reality," for what is seen on television is often not a completely accurate representation of the average American's lifestyle, actions and choices. And while cultivation theory is not universally accepted, many individuals harbor suspicions that television, while perhaps not a strong cultivating element, may still have some sort of socializing effect on the viewing public.

This study will explore the way in which marriage is depicted on television. Every night, millions of Americans tune in to programs that contain characters dealing with marriage and divorce, commitment and infidelity, fighting and making-up. If television does have a cultivating effect on viewers, then the marriages they see on TV could color their ideas about the world. Even if cultivation does not take place, it is still illuminating to examine the offerings of the flickering box. This study will look to see if marriage is portrayed in a positive or negative light in the most popular prime-time American television programs by examining whether characters' demographic variables – especially their marital status – or the genre of program in which they appear are related to the attitudes they espouse toward marriage.

Literature Review

Television and cultivation

Gerbner's (1976) interest in and subsequent research on television's effects on viewers led to the development of cultivation theory in the 1970s. The theory states that a person's perception of reality is influenced by television, with the most pronounced effects seen in those who watched the most TV. An example of this is Gerbner's (1976) proposed "mean world" view, in which heavy television viewers tend to perceive the world as more frightening, violent and dangerous than it actually is. Another indicator is the frequency with which heavy viewers responded to questions about reality with the "television answer," or the reply that was more in line with TV reality than the real world (Gerbner & Gross, 1976).

Although most viewers understand that television shows are fictitious, Gerbner stated that they nevertheless assume the programs have some basis in reality:

> The substance of consciousness cultivated by TV is not so much specific attitudes and opinions as more basic assumptions about the "facts" of life and standards of judgment on which conclusions are based. … We assume, therefore, that TV's standardizing and legitimizing influence comes largely from its ability to streamline, amplify, ritualize and spread into hitherto isolated or protected subcultures, homes, nooks and crannies … (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, pg. 178, 181).

Gerbner (1976) and his colleagues expanded on their ideas by proposing two different types of cultivation: mainstreaming and resonance. Mainstreaming is seen in the way television presents particular images and ideas, which eventually become the universal perception for all those who watch. Resonance, on the other hand, is most effective in certain segments of the population whose experience is similar to what they see on the screen. For example, a youth from a violent, inner-city neighborhood might be more likely to embrace the "mean world" view because he lives in a meaner world than does an economically privileged suburban teenager. The violence the inner-city youth sees on television programs resonates more deeply with his own life experiences, thereby strengthening the cultivation effects (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980).

In more recent research on the theory, Shrum (1995) suggested that cultivation effects are stronger in those who watch television passively, as a habit, rather than those who actively watch

TV. He also posited that cultivation research actually considers two types of mental processes: first-order judgments, or an individual's perception of how prevalent things are, and second-order judgments, which encompass an individual's beliefs and attitudes. Shrum's belief is that cultivation has a greater effect on the first-order judgments because information gleaned from television is more accessible in a person's memory and therefore more likely to be used to evaluate the prevalence of a given phenomenon, such as divorce. He cautions, however, that researchers have not established a firm link between first-order judgments and their effects on second-order judgments (Shrum, 1995).

Although this study does not set out to test cultivation theory, it is certainly inspired by the theory's tenants. Without concern for the possible effects of television on the public, there would be little reason to examine the content of TV programs. But if cultivation theory has any basis in reality, it would seem reasonable that television viewers, especially those who watch a great deal of programming, may believe that the way marriage and divorce are presented onscreen is the way things really are for most families in the United States.

Marriage and divorce in the United States

Divorce plays a major role in modern American society. In 1997, divorces were granted to 1,163,000 couples, which amounts to 4.3 divorces for every thousand people in the population, or 19.8 divorces per 1,000 married women ages 15 and older (Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 1998). These figures are a far cry from the 50% divorce rate that seems imbedded in the national consciousness. Peck (1993) claims that this common misperception can be blamed on religious leaders, academics and the media, who either misread statistics or inflate the perceived divorce rate in an effort to link divorce with what they see as the breakdown of the American family structure.

Despite the frequent overstatement of the divorce rate, the dissolution of marriage is nevertheless quite common in America. According to Whitehead (1998), the late 1950s brought a shift in priorities for Americans. Where husbands and wives once felt obligated to their families, they began to feel more obligated to themselves, personally. Thus, spouses began evaluating family bonds to see how they fulfilled their needs as individuals, and many eventually rejected them. In this new divorce culture, Americans felt entitled to a divorce as a means of improving their lives. This time period also marked the overthrow of religious thinking about marriage in favor of secular views and values. Private professional therapists rather than clergy members became the popular marriage counselors. Divorce also began to creep into the mainstream during the first half of the century; by the 1940s, etiquette maven Emily Post was addressing divorce in her publications (Whitehead, 1998).

Whitehead (1998) argued that these changing attitudes in America have led to men and women making marriage vows for "as long as we both shall like," rather than "as long as we both shall live" (pg. 142). In other words, marriage is no longer viewed as a permanent fixture in a person's life, but one that lasts as long as both parties are satisfied with the arrangement. The advent of no-fault divorce laws, which allow a person to end a marriage for any reason, furthered this more casual approach to matrimony (Whitehead, 1998).

Another example of the changing face of the American family is seen in the evolution of attitudes about traditional work-related gender roles. Over the course of surveys in 1977, 1986 and 1994, public support for mothers who work outside of the home grew. During each survey period, an increasing number of participants agreed that preschool children do not suffer if their mothers work, that it is not more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one of her own, that working mothers can establish warm relationships with their children, and that both women and men can be achievers outside of the home. These findings are in line with the increasing number of women who have sought jobs outside of the traditional homemaker status of wives and mothers (Jacques, 1998).

Marriage on television

Given this shift in national attitudes about marriage, it is no surprise that television programs have reflected these changing family structures. Pitta (1999) performed a broad analysis of television's history depicting family, marriage and divorce. Divorce was not a part of any television shows in the 1950s. Two-parent families were the norm, although widowers were featured in programs like "The Andy Griffith Show." Divorced families made their first appearances on television in the 1970s and became commonplace on 1980s TV shows like "Who's the Boss" and "The Golden Girls." Likewise, the presentation of single people has evolved. In the 1950s, unmarried men were portrayed as childish, self-centered or deviant; by 1990, a widowed man and two other single males were responsible caregivers for three children on "Full House." Single women, too, were finally allowed to be independent, sexual and self-supporting on shows like "Charlie's Angels" in the 1970s.

Television in the 1980s and 1990s showed marriages and families that were much less idyllic than the ones on 1950s programs like "The Donna Reed Show" or "Leave it to Beaver," in which the men worked, the women stayed home and the children were always well-behaved. Many of the shows featured intact families grappling with conflict, neuroses and everyday problems. Some examples are "The Simpsons," "The Cosby Show" and "Married with Children." Other shows, like "Ally McBeal" or "Murphy Brown," featured single, working women with successful careers but many failed romantic relationships. Homosexuality, single parents, dual-career couples and blended families have also become common in today's television offerings (Pitta, 1999). Clearly, the days when Ward, June and the Beaver entertained America are gone.

Much of the quantitative research into televised portrayals of marriage and family fall into the patterns Pitta reported. Dominick's (1979) content analysis of 1,314 television shows from 1953 to 1977 found that the number of women shown as housewives dropped from 53% in the 1950s to 39% in the 1970s. Of those working women, more were shown performing clerical work in the 1950s than in the 1970s, while the number of women detectives and police officers increased in the later decades.

A study of family configurations in prime-time shows for 1979 through 1985 found that conventional structures – married couples and their children or married couples, their children and another family member – were present in 65.7% of the families studied. Non-conventional structures, which generally involved one parent raising his or her children, were more often seen in sit-coms, 76.5% compared to 23.5% in dramatic programs (Skill, Robinson, & Wallace, 1987). Those numbers changed a bit in a study of prime-time, family-oriented shows that ran for at least two broadcast seasons from 1947 to 1990. Of those programs, 63% overall presented conventional family structures. Sit-coms accounted for 90% of the non-conventional families and 82% of the conventional families, while the remainder appeared on dramas. Single fathers headed up 58% of all one-parent families, which is a much larger percentage than in reality, and only 9% of all single parents were divorced, which is also a far cry from real life. By the 1980s, women who worked outside of the home were shown in 30% of prime-time shows (Moore, 1992).

Signorielli (1991) examined the types of characters presented on drama, comedy and action television shows from 1975 to 1985. She found that shows based on home, marriage and family increased during that 10-year period, such that 85% of prime-time programs included that theme and half of the shows made it a major part of the plot. However, not even one in five major characters on dramatic shows was married. In both situation comedies and in dramas, about four out of 10 women were single, and another four out of 10 were married or were once married. The rest could not be classified. The results were similar for men in comedies and in dramas; 40% were single, 24% were married and 9% were divorced or widowed. Like sitcom women, the rest of the men could not be classified by marital status. Married characters were more likely to appear on sit-coms rather than dramas, while single characters were more likely to appear on violent action shows (Signorielli, 1991).

A related body of research deals with the interactions of families in prime-time television. Skill and Wallace (1990) found that families in general communicated in a more positive than negative fashion, and that intact families were more likely to be harmonious than non-intact families or two or more families together. A study of television programs from 1954 to 1994 found more conflict and less cohesion, support, stability and satisfaction in families on modern shows. The study also found that the roles of children had become larger in programs over the years, but the situations in which they appeared had worsened. Parents were found to be less able to socialize their children, and sibling relationships were evaluated as more hostile than the relationship between parents and children. The authors said they found substantial deterioration of family life on TV even in cases when the family being studied was intact (Douglas & Olson, 1996).

A study of television shows for the 10-year period from 1984 to 1994 also found communication between children to be less supportive, more conflictual, less satisfying and less stable. Because the children create a hostile environment for each other, the researchers concluded that the TV parents develop supportive and friendly relationships with themselves and their children to compensate. However, the study reported positive family interactions overall:

> Family members in the present inquiry were seen to be involved with each other and to like and trust each other, and family relationships were characterized by high levels of mutual satisfaction and commitment, further suggesting that viewers tend to define the contemporary television family as cohesive and enduring (Douglas, 1996, pg. 693).

Olson and Douglas (1997) conducted a study of TV families that examined equality, dominance and similarity of family roles. They divided nine situation comedies into two groups, pre-1984 and post-1984, and compared the results. Five of the six modern programs showed greater similarity of spousal roles than did the three early shows, but there were no differences in equality and dominance between time periods. The researchers found a "like mother, like daughter" effect in modern programs; the children mimicked the dominance and spousal functions they saw in the parents of the same gender.

Another area of research is the sexual activity of married and unmarried characters. Among the findings in a study of the sexual content of 19 television programs popular with teenagers in 1985 was that unmarried sexual intercourse was depicted five times more frequently than married sexual intercourse, and that one in five of the participants in those unmarried sexual acts was cheating on a spouse (Greenberg, Stanley, Siemicki, Heeter, Soderman, & Linsangan, 1993).

Marriage, sex and cultivation

Many examples exist of the media coloring the way viewers of all ages perceive the world and, more specifically, the practices of marriage, divorce, adultery and sexuality. Among the findings in Olson's (1994) study of soap opera-watching college students was that heavy viewers tended to perceive higher adultery rates than did non-viewers, which could indicate that those viewers possess a skewed perspective toward marital fidelity in the real world. However, the same study found no difference between attitudes about premarital sex and risky sexual behavior among viewers and non-viewers. Overall, the study offered mixed support for the cultivation hypothesis.

A study of Brazilian television watchers found that, when asked if marriage is important, heavy television viewers were less likely to agree. However, heavy television viewers ranked their spouses as relatively more important than their parents, which supported the researcher's belief that television programs show more support for the nuclear family than the extended family (Kottak, 1990).

The attractiveness of unmarried sex to teenagers was shown in a study of adolescents' responses to televised sexual acts. The teenagers rated scenes of unmarried intercourse as the sexiest and the most realistic, when compared to heavy kissing, homosexuality, married sex, prostitution and rape. Least enjoyable and least sexy, according to the adolescents, were the scenes of married sex. (Greenberg, Linsangan, & Soderman, 1993).

Due to the conflicting television portrayals of marriage she uncovered in her content analysis, Signorielli (1991) hypothesized that she would find conflicting cultivation results: Teenagers would say they planned to get married in the future, but that they would have negative attitudes toward marriage and intimacy. Signorielli found a positive correlation between television viewing and ambivalence toward marriage as a way of life. On one hand, high school students who watched a significant amount of television were more likely to want to get married, stay married and have children, while the same segment of students said they did not see many happy marriages and did not know if it is a realistic way of life.

Purpose of the study

If the aforementioned cultivation studies are any indication, then the shows that appear on television could have an impact on those who watch them. Since marriage, family and sex are such dominant themes on TV today, these could have important socializing effects on the public. But before researchers can explore these effects, they must first determine what is on television to begin with. This study will limit itself to examining the attitudes expressed by television characters toward marriage and sex. By analyzing the most popular prime-time programs of the most recent television season, this study attempts to present an up-to-date picture of the way in which marriage is depicted on television and whether this depiction is related to program genre or character demographics.

Research questions

1. Overall, is marriage presented positively or negatively on television's most popular prime-time programs?
2. Is a character's marital status, gender, race, age, sexual preference, number of sexual partners, type of role on the show or the presence or absence of children related to his or her attitude toward marriage and sex?
3. Is the type of program (sit-com or drama) related to the attitudes toward marriage presented onscreen?

Method

This study was a content analysis that examined 14 prime-time television programs during the weeks of February 4, 2002, February 25, 2002, March 4, 2002 and March 11, 2002. The programs were purposively selected using the Nielsen Media Research ratings report of the top 20 network prime-time series from September 24, 2001, through January 27, 2002. Seven programs were eliminated because they were sports shows, non-fiction programs or fictional shows no longer on the air due to cancellation or because the series came to an end.[1] Programs examined were "King of Queens," "Everybody Loves Raymond," "Becker," "JAG," "Frasier," "Judging Amy," "West Wing," "Law & Order," "Friends," "C.S.I.: Crime Scene Investigation," "Will & Grace," "Just Shoot Me," "ER," and "Law & Order: SVU."

Initially, the month of February was chosen because it is a "sweeps" period in which Nielsen Media Research measures prime-time television viewership and, as such, the networks are generally faithful to the schedule of their most popular programs. However, the 2002 Olympic Winter Games, which were broadcast on NBC, preempted eight of the selected programs for the second and third weeks of February. This accounts for the two-week gap in the programs analyzed for this study and the two weeks added at the beginning of March. All the programs aired four times during the selected period except "Law & Order: SVU" and "C.S.I.: Crime Scene Investigation," which were both shown three times. Therefore, 54 total shows were examined.

The operational definition of the coding unit was taken from Larson's (1993) study of prime-time family communication: "A communication behavior was operationally defined as a verbal or nonverbal message directed from one family member to another. One behavior ended and another began when the communicator changed or when the type of content changed" (pg. 351). For the purposes of this study, only verbal and nonverbal messages between main characters or certain supporting characters were coded. Main characters were defined as those listed in the show's opening credit, while the only supporting characters included in the analysis were those who furthered the show's plot. In general, supporting characters were coded if they appeared in more than one scene or in only one scene that was important to the story.

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[1] Due to two-way ties in 18th and 20th place, 21 shows were actually included on the list of the top 20 shows.

Characters were coded for gender, race, age (teenage, 20-35, 36-50, 51-65, 66 and older), character status (main, supporting), marital status (married, single, divorced, widowed, engaged, remarried, unknown), sexual status (monogamous, polygamous, no partner, unknown), sexual preference (heterosexual, homosexual, unknown) and for the presence of children 18 or younger. No prior knowledge about the characters was employed to determine these variables; the coder relied on statements or situations presented during the shows examined. As such, a large number of characters – 30% – were listed as "unknown" for marital and sexual status and for sexual preference. However, these characters could not be used in certain analyses because this lack of demographic information made it difficult to interpret the findings. Therefore, alternate means were used to identify the marital statuses, sexual statuses and sexual preferences of as many "unknown" characters as possible by watching shows not included in the coding period, by reading books about the programs, or by visiting websites that offered episode synopses. Demographics for 15 additional characters were identified in this fashion.[2]

Each communication unit was then evaluated for attitudes expressed about marriage or sex. Positive statements about marriage were defined as those expressing happiness in marriage, a desire to marry, or respect for marriage. Merely expressing love for a spouse was not considered a positive statement about marriage. Negative marital statements were defined as disdain for marriage, unhappiness with marriage, or anti-marriage jokes. Expressing anger at a spouse was not considered a negative marital statement.

Positive statements about sex were defined as finding it favorable, enjoying it, and seeking it, even when it was not with a person's sexual partner. Nonverbal expressions considered positive were heavy kissing and depictions of sexual activity other than rape and sexual abuse. Negative statements about sex were defined as a desire to avoid it or not enjoying it. Neutral attitude statements about marriage and sex were also recorded as a tool to help determine the communication behavior's slant, but the neutral statements were not used in the analysis. Statements about another person's attitude were not counted as attitude statements for the character speaking, nor were untrue attitude statements counted. The latter rule was employed especially in the crime-based dramas examined, as characters frequently made untrue statements in the forms of accusations, alibis and lies when trying to cover up a crime, and some of these false statements contained attitudes to marriage and sex. Finally, the program itself was placed into one of two categories: situation comedy or drama.

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[2] Nine characters were identified by watching additional episodes of the programs, while three characters were identified on websites that offer episode synopses or show descriptions: www.cbs.com/primetime/king_of_queens, www.originaljustshootme.com, and www.televisionwithoutpity.com. Three characters were identified using books written about the programs (Binns & Jones, 1999; Sorkin & Sheen, 2002).

To train on the coding instrument, the author coded episodes of the selected programs that did not air during the weeks chosen for analysis. Another coder was trained to use the instrument, and measurements were taken between the second and third weeks and at the end of the coding period. Using Holsti's formula, intercoder reliability was calculated to be 1.0 for the number of characters analyzed, gender, race, character status, sexual preference and presence of children. Intercoder reliability was .97 for number of sexual partners, .95 for marital status and .85 for age. Although reliability for age was especially low, this was not considered a serious flaw. The coders were estimating the age of the characters onscreen, which was a much more subjective task than, for example, determining gender. Intercoder reliability for number of statements analyzed was .95, and reliability for statement slant was .95[3]. Intracoder reliability was also calculated with Holsti's formula. Agreement was 1.0 for number of characters analyzed, gender, race, character status, marital status, sexual preference and presence of children.

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[3] Reliability for slant for the statements the coders agreed upon was 1.0, but that figure decreased when the statement one coder had that the other did not was included in the analysis.

Intracoder reliability for age was .98 and for number of sexual partners was .97. Intracoder reliability for number of statements analyzed was .95 and reliability for statement slant was .95[4].

For Research Question 1, chi-square tables were calculated and a simple evaluation of frequencies was performed. To answer Research Questions 2 and 3, chi-square tables were calculated for the pertinent variables.

Results

The 14 programs examined were made up of seven situation comedies and seven dramas. In all, 281 characters were coded, and 80 statements about marriage and 106 statements about sex were examined. Of the characters included in the analysis, 56.9 % percent were male and 43.1% were female; 84.7% were white, 12.8% were black, 2.1% were Asian and .4% were Hispanic. Married characters accounted for 19.6% of the total, single characters for 44.1% and divorced characters for 7.5%. Widowed, engaged and remarried characters made up 3.2%, .7% and .4% of the sample, respectively. The marital status of the remaining 24.6% of the characters was unknown.[5] Other descriptive statistics of the characters analyzed are listed in Table 1.

Research Question 1: Of the 80 statements about marriage, 31 (39%) were positive and 49 (61%) were negative, while of 106 statements about sex, 86 (81%) were positive and 20 (19%) were negative. Of the 54 episodes examined, 14 contained no statements about attitude toward marriage or sex, and 10 contained only one attitudinal statement. The remaining 30 shows had two or more statements. To further examine the images of marriage presented, a series of chi-square tests were run to see if a character's marital status was associated with any other variables. Due to small recorded frequencies, the marital status categories were collapsed for the purposes of evaluation for all three research questions. "Remarried" was added to "married," while "widowed" and "engaged" were moved into "single." "Divorced" remained the same.

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[4] As in the intercoder reliability, the intracoder reliability for slant was 1.0 for the statements that were included on both sheets. However, one statements was included the first time that was omitted the second.

Two chi-square tests were significant: a character's marital status as a function of the type of role he or she played (x^2=12.021, p.=.007, see Table 2) and a character's marital status as a function of the type of program (x^2=21.674, p.=.000, see Table 3). Main characters were more likely to be married, more likely to be single and more likely to be divorced, while "unknown" main characters was less likely to be seen. The opposite was true for supporting characters, who were less likely to be married, less likely to be single and less likely to be divorced. The marital status of supporting characters was more likely to be "unknown." In program genres, characters on sit-coms were more likely to be married, more likely to be single and more likely to be divorced. Characters were less likely to be "unknown" on sit-coms, while on dramas, characters were less likely to be married, single and divorced but more likely to be "unknown."

Overall, the majority of characters were single: 50% of main characters and 47% of supporting characters, and 55% of characters on sit-coms and 45% of characters on dramas. Signorielli (1991) found a slightly smaller number of single characters two decades ago, when about 40% of characters in both genres were single. The chi-square test on marital status as a function of gender was not statistically significant, while marital status as a function of age or race could not be computed due to low expected cell frequencies.

Research Question 2: Characters listed as "unknown" were dropped from chi-square calculations when those variables were included in Research Questions 2 and 3. Since those

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[5] Of those 69 unknown characters, 56 (81%) were supporting characters and, of those, 52 (93%) appeared only once during the weeks coded, usually as guest stars. As such, additional information about marital and sexual status and sexual preference could not be discovered through alternate means.

characters could not be placed into any categories based on those demographics, they left little room for interpretation.

Two chi-square tests had significant results. The first was attitude toward marriage as a function of a character's marital status (x^2=8.683, p.=.013), as is shown in Table 4. Married characters made more positive statements and fewer negative statements about marriage. For divorced characters, the reverse was true; they made fewer positive statements and more negative statements about marriage. In fact, 89% of the statements divorced characters made about marriage were negative. Attitude statements made by single characters were slightly more negative than positive (53% to 47%). Married characters accounted 51% of all statements about marriage, both positive and negative.

The other significant chi-square was for attitude toward sex as a function of a character's sexual status (x^2=6.723, p.=.035, Table 5). Monogamous characters were less likely to make positive comments about sex and more likely to make negative ones, while characters with no sexual partners were more likely to make positive comments and less likely to make negative ones. Polygamous characters deviated very little from their expected frequencies for positive and negative statements about sex.

Chi-squares for attitude to marriage as a function of gender, age, character status, sexual status and presence of children were not significant, nor were chi-squares for attitude to sex as a function of gender and character status. Due to low expected frequencies, chi-squares could not be calculated for attitude to sex as a function of race, age, marital status, sexual preference and the presence of children, and for attitude to marriage as a function of race and sexual preference.

Research Question 3: Significant chi-square results were found for attitude to marriage as a function of program type (x^2=5.51, p.=.019, see Table 6), but the same analysis for attitude to sex as a function of program type was not statistically significant. Characters on sit-coms made fewer positive statements about marriage and more negative statements, while characters on dramas made more positive statements and fewer negative ones.

Discussion

This study sought to determine how marriage is presented on the most popular nighttime television programs. The statistical evidence supports the belief that television dramas offer a more positive outlook on marriage than do sit-coms. This is an interesting finding, as the sit-coms in the sample generally focused on home, family and friends as themes, while the dramas generally depicted the characters in job-related situations. It would seem logical that home-based shows would present a more favorable image of marriage, while work-based shows would make marriage and family less of a priority altogether.

Table 7 offers a possible post hoc suggestion for this finding: The majority of married characters (68%) and single characters (66%) appeared on dramas, while the majority of divorced characters (57%) appear on sit-coms. Since married characters and, to a lesser degree, single characters are more likely to make positive statements about marriage and since they appear more frequently on dramas, this program genre is more likely to contain positive statements about marriage. Likewise, since more divorced characters appear on sit-coms and since divorced characters are more likely to make negative statements about marriage, this type of program is more likely to depict negative marital attitudes.

Another possibility for the findings in Table 4 is the focus of the two types of programs. Because sit-coms generally focus on the themes of home and family, they are more likely to show both the good and bad aspects of marriage. Dramas, on the other hand, generally spend very little time dealing with characters' personal lives, which leaves fewer opportunities for balanced, two-sided portrayals of home life.

The findings in this study also offer support for some of the previous research in this area. Table 7, which identifies the marital statuses of characters in the two program genres, supports Pitta's (1999) research, which found an increase in the number of divorced characters on television. Although her research was qualitative in scope, she described the ever-growing trend of television programs that portray single men and women, divorcees, single parents and other non-traditional family structures. Although great changes in marriage and families occurred on television in the 1970s (Pitta, 1999), the make-up of family structures has changed little in the last two decades. This study found that 67.3% of children on television shows came from homes were their parents were married, while 16.3% lived with single parents and 14.3% lived with parents who were divorced. The remaining 2.0% of children lived with parents whose marital statuses could not be determined. Similarly, Skill, Robinson, and Wallace (1987) found that 65.7% of families were intact on television shows from 1979 through 1985, while Moore (1992) found 63% of all shows presented families whose parents were still married.

Limitations and contributions

The results of two chi-square tables in this study were not overly surprising. It is not overly surprising that a married character would be more favorable toward marriage than a divorced character. That monogamous characters are less positive about sex than are characters with no sexual partners is a bit puzzling until one considers the old cliché that sex stops after marriage. Indeed, 71.8% of the monogamous characters in this study are married; perhaps the television screenwriters are embracing that stereotype.

The most interesting finding in this study is that drama programs tend to present statements that are more favorable to marriage than do sit-coms. If one accepts the tenants of cultivation theory – and, certainly, many scholars do not – then it could be that devotees of drama programs have a world view that is more positive about marriage than do heavy viewers of sit-coms only. This statement has not been supported through research, however, and offers an avenue for future research.

One factor limiting the statistical analyses could be the "unknown" characters. Of the 281 characters analyzed, 24.6% had an indeterminate marital status, sexual status and sexual preference. Therefore, any statements they made about sex or marriage were not included in the chi-square analysis, since no real conclusions could be drawn from them based on those missing demographic variables. Had more characters been placed into "known" marital and sexual categories, perhaps a clearer picture of marriage on TV would have emerged in all of the chi-square calculations performed. The culprit in this case were dramas, as 89.9% of all "unknown" characters appeared in this program genre. "Law & Order" and "Law & Order: SVU" had an especially large number of unidentified main characters[6]; these programs more than any others seemed to focus almost entirely on work and very little on characters' personal lives.

Therefore, this study would have been stronger if more than four weeks of shows had been included in the analysis. Since characters were assigned marital and sexual status and sexual preference based primarily on what was seen in the programs, additional weeks of shows might have offered demographic information on the "unknown" characters, especially in the case of the aforementioned two programs. Furthermore, viewing additional shows would have resulted in more attitude statements to analyze. Four weeks of viewing yielded 186 attitudinal statements about sex and marriage. Any statements recorded from additional weeks' worth of programs would only have made the statistical analysis stronger, especially since so many chi-square tables could not be completed due to low expected frequencies.

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[6] These two shows had five main characters each whose marital statuses were unknown. Only three other shows – all dramas – had unknown main characters, one on each show.

Another contribution of this study was in revealing the general face of popular prime-time television programs. Specifically, the results found that out of 281 characters, 36 (12.8%) were black, six (2.1%) were Asian and one (.4%) was Hispanic; the remaining 238 characters (84.7%) where white. This phenomenon of predominantly white TV characters was also highlighted in Moore's study, which found that 94% of the television families examined were white (1992). This does not quite reflect the actual composition of the United States; in 2001 the U.S. population was 69.7% white, 12.3% black, 12.7% Hispanic and 4.1% Asian (Rezide, 2001).

In addition, 69.4% of the characters in this study were estimated to be between the ages of 20 and 50. However, according to Rezide (2001), only 48.3% of all Americans are between the ages of 21 and 54. This certainly puts an artificially young face on prime-time TV. In addition, many more Americans are married than the television programs would indicate: 56.1% are married, 26.2% are single, 8.4% are divorced and 7.1% are widowed (Rezide, 2001). But single characters outnumber married characters by more than two to one in this study – 44.1% single versus 19.6% married.

This study focused on marriage itself rather than offering a broader look at family relationships in general. Certainly, the attitudes directed at marriage are strong indicators of how the institution is portrayed on television, but many other factors could also be considered, as they were in earlier studies (Skill & Wallace, 1990; Douglas & Olson, 1996). Future research into the nature of family interactions, gender equality and the portrayal of children could only enhance knowledge on the topic of how marriage and family are presented on television.

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Table 1
Distribution of Television Characters by Demographic Variables

	N	(%)
Gender		
Female	121	(43.1)
Male	160	(56.9)
Race		
White	238	(84.7)
Black	36	(12.8)
Asian	6	(2.1)
Hispanic	1	(.4)
Marital status		
Married	55	(19.6)
Single	124	(44.1)
Divorced	21	(7.5)
Widowed	9	(3.2)
Engaged	2	(.7)
Remarried	1	(.4)
Unknown	69	(24.6)
Sexual status		
Monogamous	74	(26.3)
Polygamous	15	(5.3)
No partner	123	(43.8)
Unknown	69	(24.6)
Sexual preference		
Heterosexual	207	(73.7)
Homosexual	5	(1.8)
Unknown	69	(24.6)
Age		
19 and younger	32	(11.4)
20-35	94	(33.5)
36-50	101	(35.9)
51-65	45	(16.0)
66 and older	9	(3.2)
Children present		
Yes	49	(17.4)
No	203	(72.2)
Character is a child	29	(10.3)

Table 2
Marital Status by Character Status

	Married		Single		Divorced		Unknown		Total	
Character Status	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Main	20	23	44	50	12	14	13	15	89	32
Supporting	36	19	91	47	9	5	56	29	192	68

Chi-square = 12.021, p.=.007

Table 3
Marital Status by Program Type

	Married		Single		Divorced		Unknown		Total	
Program Type	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Sit-com	18	22	46	55	12	15	7	8	83	30
Drama	38	19	89	45	9	5	62	31	198	71

Chi-square = 21.674, p.=.000

Table 4
Attitude to Marriage by Marital Status

	Positive		Negative		Total	
Marital Status	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Married	20	51	19	49	39	51
Single	9	47	10	53	19	25
Divorced	2	11	16	89	18	24

Chi-square = 8.683, p.=.013

Table 5
Attitude to Sex by Sexual Status

	Positive		Negative		Total	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Sexual Status						
Monogamous	22	69	10	31	32	31
Polygamous	8	80	2	20	10	10
No partner	55	90	6	10	61	59

Chi-square = 6.723, p.=.035

Table 6
Attitude to Marriage by Program Type

	Positive		Negative		Total	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Program Type						
Drama	21	51	20	49	41	51
Sit-com	10	26	29	74	39	49

Chi-square = 5.51, p.=.019

Table 7
Distribution of Marital Status by Program Type

	Sit-com		Drama		Total	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Marital Status						
Married	18	32	38	68	56	20
Single	46	34	89	66	135	48
Divorced	12	57	9	43	21	7
Unknown	7	10	62	90	69	25

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Late-night Comedy in Election 2000:

The Direct Effects of Exposure on Candidate Trait Ratings

and the Moderating role of Political Knowledge

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Submitted for presentation to the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Miami, August, 2002

Note: An earlier version of this paper was scheduled to be presented at the 2002 annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, but was never presented due to illness of the author.

Dannagal Goldthwaite is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Pennsylvania. The Electronic Dialogue 2000 Project, from which individual level data was obtained, was supported by grants to Dr. Joseph Cappella and Dr. Vincent Price from the Pew Charitable Trusts and the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. Data for use in the late-night joke content analysis was obtained from the Center for Media and Public Affairs (CMPA). The views expressed here are those of the author alone and do not reflect the views of the funding agencies or of the organizations from which data was obtained. The author wishes to express thanks to CMPA's Research Director, Dan Amundson, for the use of CMPA's late-night joke database, as well as Joseph Cappella and Vincent Price for their guidance, and Lela Jacobsohn for assistance in the content analysis.

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Late-night Comedy in Election 2000: The Direct Effects of Exposure on Candidate Trait Ratings and the Moderating role of Political Knowledge

Throughout the 2000 Presidential election, journalists, politicians and comedians debated the nature of the relationship between late-night comedy and public opinion. In a *New York Times* article entitled "The Stiff Guy vs. the Dumb Guy," Marshall Sella suggested that "…part of what turns random episodes like the RATS controversy[i] into icons, what inflates them into pivotal campaign events, is late-night comedy" (Sella, 2000, p. 72). Mandy Grunwald, Clinton media advisor in his 1992 campaign, and media advisor to Hillary Clinton during her 2000 Senate campaign, stated, "If Leno or Imus or Dennis Miller are making jokes about you, you have a serious problem. Whatever take they have on you is likely to stick much more solidly than what is in the political ads in papers like the Washington Post" (Grenier, 1999, p. 103).

Despite these claims, political comedians often argued (when discussing the issue publicly) that since jokes are based on what the public already believes, their influence on public opinion was inconsequential at most. While speaking to Al Gore's class at the Columbia Journalism School, David Letterman, host of CBS's *The Late Show with David Letterman,* stated that "…he doubted that he had any impact on the presidential election" (Berner, 2001):

> I would guess that very few votes were cast based on a joke that either I or Jay Leno made. (David Letterman addressing Al Gore's class, as reported in Berner, 2001)

Jon Stewart, host of Comedy Central's, *The Daily Show,* argued that it was unlikely that people were influenced by such content since "[writers and comedians] need [viewers] to know something before they even make a joke about it" (*Nightline,* September 18, 2000).

Similarly, Jay Leno, host of NBC's *The Tonight Show* stated, "we (writers and comedians) reinforce what people already believe" (Shaap, 2000, p. 75).

Empirical research to date regarding the effects of political satire on public opinion is scarce. Studies of the effects of editorial political cartoons on political opinion have been inconclusive (e.g.: Brinkman, 1968; Carl, 1968). In an experiment assessing the direct effects of textual satire on character ratings of Nixon, Gruner (1971) found minimal evidence of a persuasion effect. He concluded that higher doses over a longer period may produce a statistically significant effect. Concluding a content analysis and examination of third person effects of late-night in the 2000 campaign, Verena Hess argues that late-night jokes act as a "rhetorical device" (Hess, 2001, p. 18) and an illustration of how the media "construct our political world" (p. 18).

This analysis is an attempt to assess the over-time effects of late-night comedy exposure on people's perceptions of the candidate traits caricatured in late-night content in the 2000 presidential campaign. These analyses were completed using survey data gathered throughout the course of the campaign, thus avoiding the problem of short-term exposure faced in experimental analyses such as Gruner's (1971). First, the paper examines the relationship between an individual's exposure to late-night comedy programming and her ratings of the candidates on the particular traits being caricatured. Second, it explores the conditional effects of political knowledge, assessing whether the over-time effects of late-night exposure on candidate trait ratings varied with the political knowledge of the viewer.

Late-night as a non-traditional source of political information.

According to a report published by Pew's Research Center for the People and the Press (2000), while newspapers, network and local news have all declined in prominence as people's primary source of campaign information over the past four years, the number of people who report learning something about the campaign from late-night comedy programs, such as those hosted by Jay Leno and David Letterman, is up slightly from four years ago (*Pew Research Center*, 2000). America's youngest eligible voters (Age 18-29) who happen to report the lowest use of newspapers and network news, also report receiving more campaign information from late-night programs than any other age group with almost half reporting learning something about the campaign sometimes or regularly from late-night programs, a rate about twice that of Americans over age thirty (*Pew Research Center*, 2000).

The Pew Report also suggests individuals with various levels of political knowledge receive campaign information from different sources. When split into three levels of political knowledge, the study indicates that people low in knowledge report regularly learning about the campaign from daily newspapers, news magazines, and the Internet at about half the rate of individuals high in political knowledge. Meanwhile, almost half (45%) of those low in political knowledge report learning about the campaign regularly from late night, compared to only 20% of individuals with high political knowledge. (*Pew Research Center*, 2000). Pew's report suggests that not only do people use late-night comedy programs as a source of political information; but among certain populations (namely those low in political knowledge and low in exposure to traditional political information) late-night content may play a particularly important role.

Getting the joke.

Late-night comedy is not simply an alternative source of political information. Rather, it is a form of political information that requires unique participation of the receiver to construct its meaning. In his 1964 work, *The Act of Creation,* humor theorist, Arthur Koestler, argues that humor occurs at the intersection of two incompatible scripts that must be reconciled to "see the joke" (Koestler, 1964, p. 85). To understand the joke, the listener must "bridge … [the] logical gap by inserting the missing links" (p. 84), a process he calls *interpolation.* In doing so, audience members are active participants in the creation of a humorous construct. In the context of late-night jokes about the candidate stereotypes or caricatures, understanding the joke means repeatedly accessing simplified, often exaggerated information about the candidates.

The process of reconciling the incongruity presented in a joke is facilitated by joke content that accesses familiar, exaggerated representations of the candidates. Hence, it is to Letterman and Leno's advantage to base jokes upon the most widely held beliefs or the most widely understood information. As Jon Stewart, host of Comedy Central's *The Daily Show*, points out, "…if [*The Daily Show*] made jokes about Gore being clumsy, nobody would laugh because it's not in the consciousness" (*Nightline* 9/18/00). It is for this reason that archetypal representations such as stereotypes and caricatures make efficient material for jokes. Koestler writes:

> A caricature is comic only if we know something of the victim, if we have a mental image, however vague of the person, or type of person, at which it is aimed- even if it is an Eskimo, a cave-man, or a Martian robot. The unknown cannot be distorted or misrepresented. (Koestler, p. 71)

The analyses that follow are based on the assumption that individuals who watch late-night programs engage in repeat activation of these simplified, exaggerated candidate caricatures. Over time, repeat activation will likely lead to more negative perceptions of the candidates on those traits that are caricatured most often. Hence, the analyses presented here explore an effects model in which exposure is hypothesized to directly impact people's ratings of candidate traits. These data were later used to test a priming hypothesis in which traits were primed as criteria for overall candidate evaluation[ii], but this paper is limited to the direct persuasion model.

H1: Individuals with high exposure to late-night comedy programming will rate the candidates lower over time on the traits being caricatured than will individuals with lower exposure to late-night programs (controlling for relevant third variables).

The role of political knowledge.

As discussed earlier, research suggests that individuals with low political knowledge report obtaining less information from traditional political sources, and more information through late-night comedy than individuals with moderate or high political knowledge (*Pew Research Center*, 2000). Identifying which subgroups receive the most political information from late-night is valuable as it helps identify those most likely to be affected by it. More importantly, however, one's level of political knowledge may impact the extent to which she is influenced by message content. Literature exploring political knowledge as an audience variable posits that individuals with different levels of political knowledge will likely vary in their susceptibility to the effects of certain kinds of messages (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Zaller, 1992). For example, Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) address the notion that political knowledge can lead to susceptibility to persuasion in some cases and resistance to persuasion in others.

> On the one hand, better-informed citizens should be more likely to change their attitudes in response to certain kinds of critical information. On the other hand, they should be less susceptible to efforts to manipulate them, less vulnerable to propaganda, less affected by particular events or messages that are irrelevant, and less likely to manifest "response effects" in surveys (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996, p. 234).

In short, better-informed citizens have a greater capacity to evaluate political messages, either to put the information in their cap if it is important or to throw it out if it is not.

In John Zaller's (1992) reception-acceptance model, he outlines three types of message resistance that "politically aware" individuals are likely to exercise more than the politically unaware: partisan resistance as a function of their political values, inertial resistance as a function of their larger stores of preexisting considerations, and countervalent resistance as a function of their exposure to communications which run counter to the dominant message in the political environment (Zaller, 1992, p. 167). Each of these forms of resistance is relevant to our discussion of the effects of late-night political jokes. Individuals with less political information may be less adept at "recognizing messages that are inconsistent with their values," less able to use their "informational ballast to counteract the effects of new messages," and less likely to have exposure to "countervalent communications" (in this case non-caricature-based candidate information) to dilute the effects of the dominant messages (Zaller, 1992, p. 167). Based on these arguments, the effects of late-night exposure on trait ratings of the candidates are expected to be highest among individuals with low political knowledge.

H2: The effects of late-night exposure on candidate trait ratings will be higher among those low in political knowledge than among those high in political knowledge.

METHODS

Design

This analysis was part of a larger study on the role of electronic discussion among citizens during the 2000 presidential election, under the supervision of Vincent Price and Joseph Cappella. The larger project was designed specifically to assess the effects of group deliberation on people's engagement with and opinions on political issues. In February 2000, a random sample of American citizens age 18 and older (N=3967) was drawn from a nationally representative panel of survey respondents maintained by Knowledge Networks, Inc. of Menlo Park, California. The Knowledge Networks panel included a large number of households that had agreed to accept free WebTV equipment and service in exchange for completing periodic surveys on line. Fifty-one percent of those recruited through the February recruitment survey agreed to participate in the project. Participants were invited either to 1. discuss politics on-line once per month and complete monthly surveys (discussants), 2. complete the monthly surveys but not discuss politics on-line (control group), or 3. complete the baseline and final surveys only (set aside). Analysis of group characteristics (demographics, age, race, gender, political interest, ideology, and party leanings) confirmed that no significant differences were found between the three groups, indicating that randomization was successful. The discussion group consisted of 906 individuals, the control consisted of 139, and the set-aside (first and last surveys only) consisted of 969. The survey containing the late-night comedy exposure items was issued in September to discussants and control group members only. Late-night exposure measures were obtained for 64% of discussants (N =

580) and 63% of the control group (N = 88) due to panel attrition over the months of the project.

Measures

Late-night comedy exposure was obtained through self report on the September survey (N = 668). Two separate items were issued to participants in randomized order, asking if they happened to watch Jay Leno and if they happened to watch Dave Letterman with three possible responses, "Yes, much of the time," "Yes, but not very often," and "no." Based on the content analysis of Leno and Letterman jokes, the main candidate caricatures mentioned on the two programs were quite similar with the following exceptions: Leno made more frequent mention of Bush's "drug habit" (10% of Leno jokes) than did Letterman (1% of his jokes); Letterman made a few more references to Gore reinventing himself than did Leno (5.4% v. 1.8%) and Leno made a few more references to Gore being an exaggerator than did Letterman (7.2% v. 3.2%). As the content of the two programs is basically the same except for these few exceptions, the two measures of exposure (to Leno and to Letterman) were collapsed into one. Although one could argue that there are qualitative differences between the delivery of jokes by Letterman and Leno, a summarized late-night exposure measure was chosen in the interest of maximizing the predictive power of the variable. The summarized late-night exposure measure which ranges from 0 to 2, has a mean of .3265, a standard deviation of .4151, and kurtosis of 2.249. The exact question wording, and the calculation of the numerical values attributed to these responses can be found in Appendix A. A means comparison of the exposure measure by discussant v. control group assignment shows no significant differences in exposure between the two groups[iii].

Political Knowledge was obtained on the baseline survey and was calculated as the average of 24 items in three knowledge batteries (For a complete list of items, see Appendix B). Correct answers were coded 1 and incorrect and "don't know" answers were coded 0. The first knowledge battery consisted of 7 questions regarding the candidates' biographies (4 about democrats and three about republicans). The second battery consisted of 7 questions about the candidates' issue positions (4 about democrats and three about republicans). The third battery consisted of 10 questions of general civics knowledge. The three batteries were combined into a full knowledge scale, with values ranging from 0-1. Alpha for the full knowledge scale is .82.

A Content Analysis of Late-night Jokes was completed using data from the *Center for Media and Public Affairs*, a non-profit organization that tracks aspects of media coverage of politics and social affairs. The content analysis was used to determine what constituted the most frequently caricatured traits of the candidates in late-night joke content, and hence, which trait ratings we would expect to vary as a function of exposure to late-night comedy. The content analysis was completed on a database containing texts of 879 late-night joke made by Dave Letterman and Jay Leno from January 1, through November 30, 2000. Although some episodes were re-run, thus duplicating certain jokes, each individual joke was only coded once. The coding scheme consisted of 12 possible caricature traits specifically for Bush and 12 specifically for Gore, as well as one category for jokes focusing on general disillusionment with the campaign, without mention of any caricature traits. For details of the coding scheme see Appendix C. The reliability of the coding scheme was tested between the author and a second coder, obtaining a Kappa of .81 for the Bush caricatures and .93 for the Gore caricatures. Throughout the period from January 1 to November 30, 2000, 494 jokes mentioned G.W. Bush, 359 jokes mentioned Al Gore, and 26 focused on general disillusionment with the campaign. Based on Table 1, the most salient caricature traits in late-night are Bush as unintelligent, Gore as stiff and dull, and Gore as an exaggerator and a liar.

Evaluations of candidate traits were obtained from a series of closed-ended questions issued three times: March, July and September. Respondents were asked how well certain traits described each of the candidates. The traits (inspiring, knowledgeable, and honest) were issued in randomized order. Response options were: Extremely well, quite well, not too well, and not well at all, scaled from 0 to 1 where 1 is a more favorable rating. For our analyses, we will be associating Gore's inspiring rating with Gore's late-night caricature as stiff and boring, Bush's knowledgeable rating with Bush's caricature as unintelligent, and Gore's honest rating with Gore's caricature as an exaggerator and a liar.

Party-ideology index, TV news exposure, Race, Gender, Age, Income were included as controls in all the models. For a description of these control variables, see Appendix D.

Table 1

Results of joke content analysis in order of frequency

Bush	Total	Percent	Gore	Total	Percent
Intelligence	142	28.74	Stiff/boring/robotic	71	19.78
Death penalty	82	16.60	Exaggerator	49	13.65
Drugs	60	12.15	Other	45	12.53
Alcohol	48	9.72	DNC kiss	40	11.10
Other	47	9.50	Failing campaign	29	8.08
Swearing	35	7.09	Reinvents himself	25	6.96
Foreign affairs	27	5.47	Illegal fundraising	24	6.69
Malapropisms	22	4.45	Makeup	23	6.40
Failing campaign	12	2.43	Florida	21	5.85
Silver spoon	10	2.02	Aggressive/rude	13	3.62
Smirk	4	.81	Lieberman	8	2.22
Friend of the rich	3	.61	Environment	7	1.95
Florida	2	.40	Silver spoon	4	1.11
TOTAL	494	100.00	TOTAL	359	100.00

Note. For descriptions of caricature categories see Appendix C

Analyses

To assess the direct effects of late-night exposure on candidate trait ratings, the relationship between late-night exposure and net change over time in candidate trait rating was tested using OLS regression. Changes in candidate trait ratings from early March to early July, and from early July to early September were analyzed. Net change in a trait rating from March to July was obtained by subtracting the March trait rating from the July trait rating[iv]; similarly for change from July to September (September trait rating minus July trait rating).

If a direct effect were taking place, exposure to late-night would be a significant predictor of net change in the caricature trait ratings. For instance, if exposure to late-night from March to July actually persuaded people that Al Gore was uninspiring, a negative relationship between late-night exposure and net change on Gore's inspiring rating from March to July should be observed. While the regression models included numerous independent variables (to control for those variables related to both late-night exposure and trait ratings), the following discussion focuses on the two predictor variables of theoretical interest: late-night exposure and political knowledge. In a preliminary set of regression analyses predicting late-night viewing, younger people and people with high television news exposure were found to be higher viewers of late-night. Hence, age and television news exposure were included as controls in the models. Also included as controls because of their possible relationship to candidate trait ratings were political interest, an indexed measure of party affiliation and ideology, income, race, and gender. For a description of these control variables, see Appendix D

To test H1, twelve regressions were run, using late-night exposure and controls[v] to predict net change in "knowledgeable," "inspiring," and "honest" for Bush and for Gore, from early March to early July, and from early July to early September. In none of the twelve regressions was late-night exposure a statistically significant ($p<.05$) or marginally significant ($p<.1$) predictor of net change in any candidate trait ratings, indicating that H1 was not supported by the data.

A second set of models was used to test H2. These models were similar to those above, but also included the interaction of late-night exposure and political knowledge as a predictor of net change in trait rating. If the extent to which late-night exposure influenced candidate trait ratings varied as a function of the viewer's level of political knowledge, the interaction of late-night and political knowledge should be significant. To test this hypothesis, twelve regressions were run[vi]. The regression coefficients of the predictor variables of interest are shown in Table 2[vii].

To interpret the meaning of the interaction terms, the sample was split into three political knowledge groups; low, medium, and high. The mean knowledge score for each group was substituted into the model to represent the three different knowledge groups (.42, .65, .82 respectively). Five different levels of late-night comedy exposure (0, .3, .6, 1, 1.3) were substituted into the equation, as well as sample means for the other predictor variables. Figures 1 through 5 illustrate the predicted values of net change in trait ratings based upon various levels of political knowledge and late-night exposure. The lines within each graph represent the three different knowledge groups, with the low knowledge group represented by the dashed line.

Table 2

Predictors of Net candidate trait rating change from early March to early July, and from early July to early September

	Net Change from early March to early July					
	Al Gore			G.W. Bush		
	Insp	Know	Hon	Insp	Know	Hon
Predictor	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Late-night Exposure	0.005	0.03	0.03	-0.05	-0.01	-0.03
	(.03)	(.031)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.029)
Political Knowledge	0.09	0.02	**0.13#**	**0.16***	0.008	0.12
	(.08)	(.08)	**(.07)**	**(.08)**	(.07)	(.07)
Political Knowledge X	-0.06	**-0.29#**	-0.02	**0.34***	**0.28#**	0.24
Late-night	(.17)	**(.16)**	(.16)	**(.167)**	**(.146)**	(.16)
R^2	.01	.019	.015	.021	.028	.02
N	494	495	486	499	499	496

	Net Change from early July to early September					
	Al Gore			G.W. Bush		
	Insp	Know	Hon	Insp	Know	Hon
Predictor	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Late-night Exposure	.02	-5.9E-5	-.06	-.03	-8.1E-5	-.01
	(.032)	(.032)	(.031)	(.032)	(.03)	(.030)
Political Knowledge	.06	-.09	.06	**.13#**	.14	.04
	(.076)	(.078)	(.076)	**(.078)**	(.074)	(.074)
Political Knowledge X	**.33***	.175	**.36***	.018	.057	-.05
Late-night	**(.167)**	(.17)	**(.168)**	(.167)	(.158)	(.159)
R^2	.04	.015	.022	.022	.029	.014
N	455	456	456	454	453	453

Note. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors of the regression unstandardized coefficients. Control variables in the models include Party-ideology index, Average Interest, TV news exposure, Race, Gender, Age, Income and, in the July-Sept models only, overall favorability of that candidate.

#p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

In the case of net change in Bush knowledgeability and Gore knowledgeability from March to July, the interaction term of late-night and political knowledge approached statistical significance where the less politically aware showed more critical ratings of Bush's knowledgeability at high levels of late-night exposure (See Figure 2), and *less* critical ratings of Gore's knowledgeability at high levels of late-night exposure (See Figure 1). As these coefficients were not quite statistically significant, a second set of analyses ran OLS regressions separately for low and high knowledge portions of the sample to clarify the relationships. These models showed that the coefficient for late-night in low knowledge sample was the opposite sign of the coefficient for late-night in the high knowledge sample. Hence, these findings were consistent with the notion that the influence of late-night was different for individuals with different levels of political knowledge.

Looking at the other significant coefficients, net change in Bush's inspiring rating from March to July experienced a statistically significant trend in which the low knowledge individuals showed a greater decrease in the candidate trait rating over time as a function of late-night exposure than did the high knowledge groups (See Figure 3). A similar pattern is found in the case of change in Gore's inspiring rating from July to September, and in change in Gore's honesty rating from July to September (See Figures 4 and 5), where those low in knowledge became more critical over time.

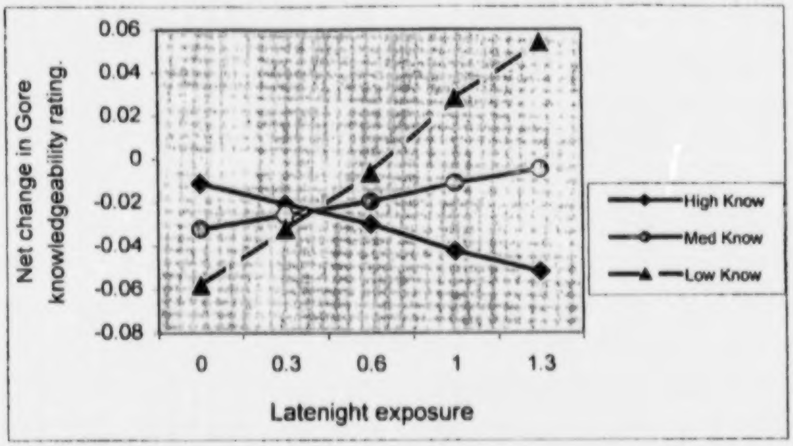

Figure 1. Net change in Gore knowledgeability rating from March to July (July minus March) as a function of late-night exposure, by knowledge.
Note. This relationship was not highly statistically significant (p<.1).

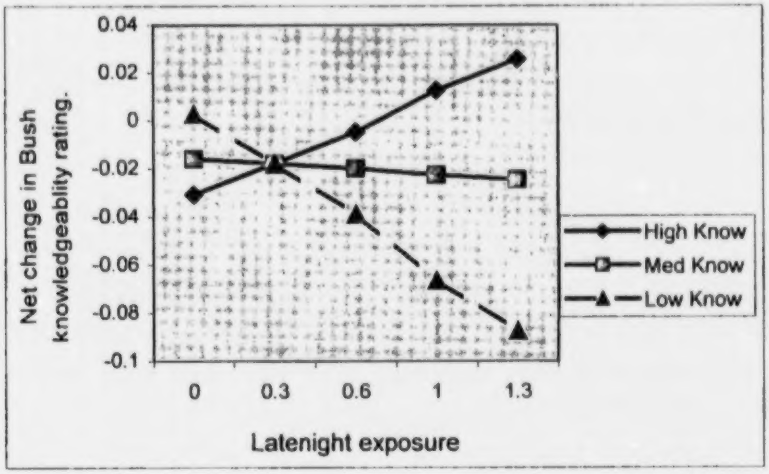

Figure 2. Net change in Bush knowledgeability rating from March to July (July minus March) as a function of late-night exposure, by knowledge group.
Note. This relationship was not highly statistically significant (p<.1).

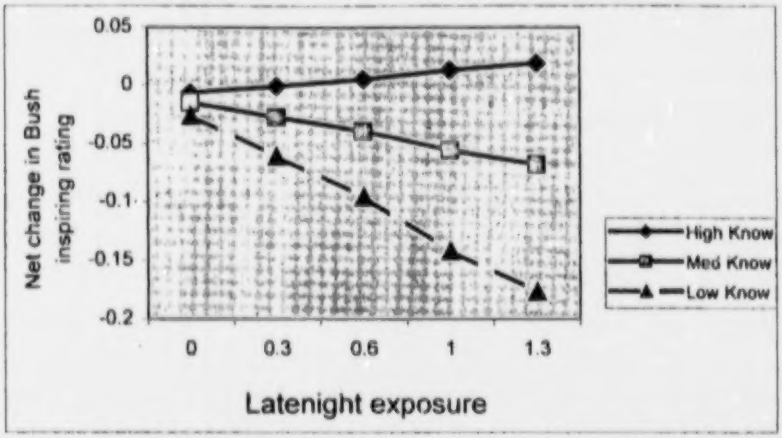

Figure 3. Net change in Bush inspiring rating from March to July (July minus March) as a function of late-night exposure, by knowledge
Note. This relationship was statistically significant (p<.05).

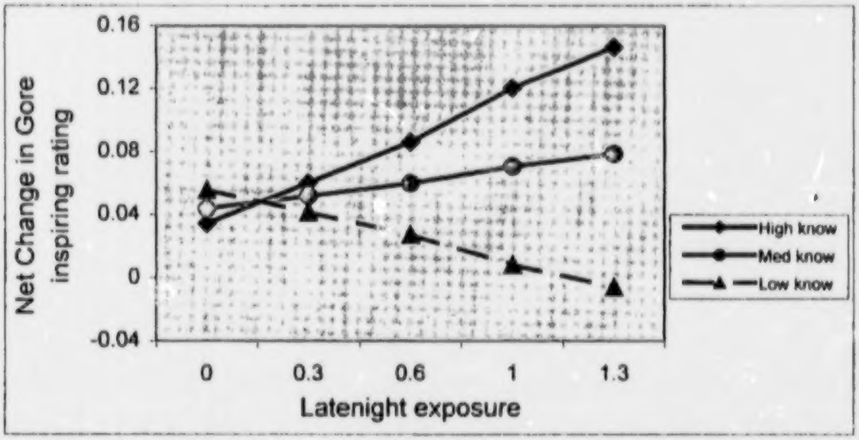

Figure 4. Net change in Gore inspiring rating from July to September (September minus July) as a function of late-night exposure, by knowledge group
Note. This relationship was statistically significant (p<.05).

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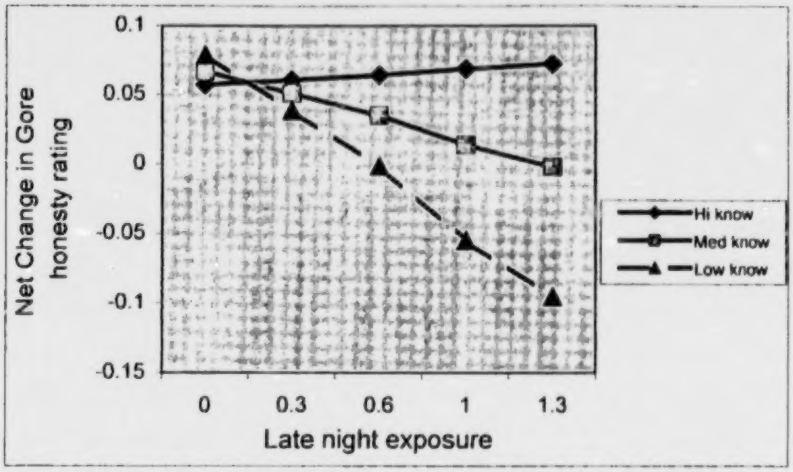

Figure 5. Net change in Gore honesty rating from July to September (Sept minus July) as a function of late-night exposure, by knowledge group.
Note. This relationship was statistically significant ($p<.05$).

The significant interaction term predicting Gore's inspiring rating from July to September suggests that increased exposure to late-night was related to lower Gore inspiring ratings among those with lower knowledge and higher Gore inspiring ratings among those with higher knowledge (Figure 4). A similar trend occurs predicting change in Bush's knowledgeable ratings from March to July, where those higher in political knowledge give Bush higher ratings over time, and those lower in knowledge give Bush lower ratings over time (See Figure 2). While the finding that people low in knowledge became more critical of the caricatured traits at higher levels of exposure is consistent with H2, the finding that higher knowledge subjects rating Gore as *more* inspiring and Bush as *more* knowledgeable with increased exposure to late-night is a curious one. One possible explanation is that those higher in knowledge were more critical viewers of late-night, so rather than being persuaded in the direction of the political jokes, they saw the jokes as political information from a source that lacked credibility, and became more critical of late-night's message as a result. Unfortunately, there was no way to

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empirically examine this mechanism with variables available here, though future research should consider the role of source credibility in the context of late-night effects.

In the case of Gore's honesty rating, people with lower political knowledge became more critical of Gore's honesty at higher levels of late-night exposure from July to September (Figure 5), consistent with H2. To better understand the relationship between late-night content and depictions of Gore's "honesty," a follow-up analysis was run in which three Gore joke categories were collapsed into one "honesty" category: Exaggerator/liar, reinvents himself/strategic, and Illegal campaign fundraising. The frequency of Gore "Stiff/dull" jokes per month was then compared to the frequency of Gore "honesty" jokes per month over the period from March to September (Figure 6).

Although Gore's caricature as stiff and boring dominated the jokes being made from March through May, by August and September Gore's caricature as dishonest was the more frequent of the two (Figure 6). This may explain the effect found on changes in Gore's honesty ratings from July to September, but it does not explain the *absence* of an effect on changes in Gore's inspiring rating from March to July. It may be the case that from March through July although late-night did not affect Gore's inspiring rating itself, the repeat activation of the Gore caricature as "stiff and dull" throughout that time period contributed to the priming of that caricature trait, an effect which was explored in a separate series of analyses.

An alternative explanation would posit that in the early part of the campaign, the perception of Gore as stiff and boring was already widely held. Since you cannot persuade someone of something they already believe, late-night's capacity to persuade people may have experienced a "ceiling effect." Early in the summer, perhaps Gore's stiff reputation dissipated a bit, leaving room for influence in August and September. Similarly, perhaps Gore's reputation as dishonest grew over the course of the campaign, giving late-night the ability to show people something they did not already know, hence increasing the potential for persuasion or learning about Gore's dishonesty.

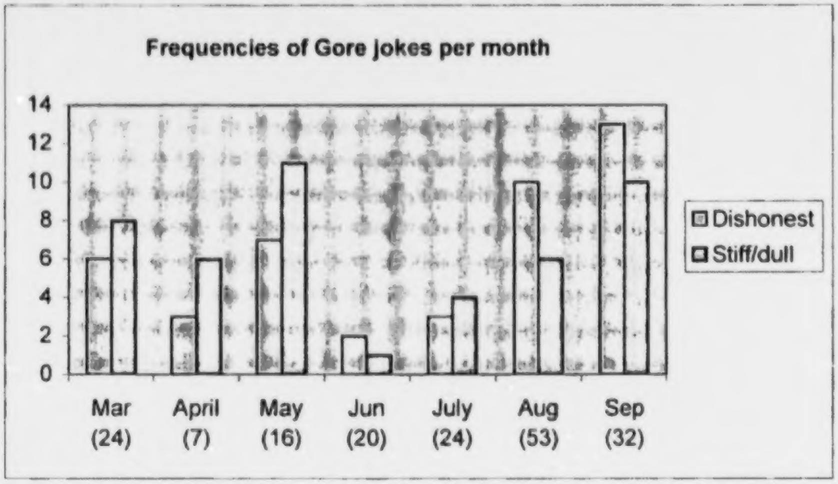

Figure 6. Frequencies of Gore "dishonest" and "stiff/dull" jokes per month

Note. Numbers in parentheses represent the total number of candidate jokes made that month.

Two other curious results were obtained from March to July. The first concerns the differential changes in Gore's knowledgeable rating as a function of late-night exposure and political knowledge (Figure 1), where people with low knowledge and high exposure gave Gore higher knowledgeable ratings with increased exposure to late-night. Perhaps as people with low political knowledge and high exposure found Bush less intelligent over time (Figure 2), Gore seemed more intelligent, suggesting a contrast effect occurring between Gore and Bush. However, because these effects on both Gore and Bush's knowledgeable ratings were only approaching significance, it would be a mistake to over-interpret the effect.

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The second curious finding is in the case of Bush's inspiring rating (Figure 3). In this case, it is important to consider how late-night's effects on candidate trait ratings might translate to other traits of the candidates. After all, neither Leno nor Letterman made enough jokes specifically about Bush being uninspiring often enough to justify a direct effect on Bush's inspiring rating, though one could argue that lack of intelligence might translate into uninspiringness. Since honesty, intelligence and inspiringness are all fundamentally leadership qualities, they may function interchangeably when an individual is called upon to judge the candidate on any one individual trait. This question merits the attention of future research.

It is also plausible that if late-night exposure affects certain people's perceptions of candidate traits, so too might it directly affect their overall perception of that candidate. To explore this secondary hypothesis, a follow-up analysis was completed in which the effects of late-night exposure*political knowledge on net change in overall candidate favorability ratings from early March to early August was tested. In these analyses, neither the main effects of late-night, nor the interaction term with political knowledge was a significant predictor of change in overall favorability of Bush or of Gore.

Unfortunately, the limitations of this study are numerous, and include the small sample size, the very low R-square in the models, the minimal number of points in time at which data was available, and the attrition of people high in political knowledge over the course of the project. The latter of these "limitations" may actually lend support to our findings, as the effects of late-night that were witnessed here all operate as a function of political knowledge. Since the knowledge distribution in our sample tends to under-represent low-knowledge individuals, the role of political knowledge in susceptibility to the effects of late-night may be even greater in reality than what we have witnessed here. Another concern to be raised is what other aspects of the late-night content may have played a role in these effects. In these analyses late-night content is measured largely in terms of jokes from the monologues, which certainly does not capture the substantive importance of the rest of late-night content. For instance, both candidates appeared on Leno and on Letterman in the months before the election, and although neither of their appearances coincided with the data gathering for these analyses, there was discussion by the late-night hosts about the candidates' upcoming visits.

Conclusion

This study is a first step in the empirical analysis of the effects of political satire on public opinion. While these data do not support the hypothesis that late-night exposure alone directly impacts an individual's perception of candidate traits over-time (H1), the results of H2 suggest that the effects of late-night on candidate perceptions may be quite different among audiences with different levels of political knowledge, though the nature of this difference remains unclear. While the magnitude of these findings is not huge, it is important to note that four of the five significant relationships in H2 show a similar trend in which individuals with low knowledge gave lower trait ratings over time at high levels of exposure. The consistency of this trend across the various candidate traits is likely to be of interest to campaign managers dealing with the possible effects of late-night jokes. Yet, the finding that late-night exposure may be associated with *increases* in trait ratings among those *high* in political knowledge deserves significant attention as well, as it suggests an alternative influence of late-night content that has not been adequately explored. Other important questions left to be examined concern how late-night exposure affected other dimensions of political engagement such as cynicism, interest in the campaign, or trust in institutions, as well as how late-night affected changes in behavior regarding the candidates (i.e.: voting).

In light of these findings, it is again interesting to note that late-night hosts publicly state that their jokes do not influence public opinion. If people with low knowledge watch the most late-night, report obtaining information about the campaign from late-night, and receive less traditional political information from the news than high knowledge people (Pew Research Center, 2000), and if these low-knowledge individuals are also more likely to become more critical of the caricatured traits of public officials portrayed on late-night, then perhaps late-night writers and hosts ought to consider the possibility that their jokes play an important role in the political climate, particularly among the less-informed.

These findings lend support to the notion that certain entertainment media, such as late-night, may play a role in informing and even shaping the political views of certain kinds of viewers, and that this influence may vary with the level of political sophistication of the viewer. As candidates and political officials show up on the couches of people like Dave Letterman, Jay Leno, or Jon Stewart in the months and years to come, and as politics continue to be a key ingredient for late-night jokes, the questions of how people use these programs, what they learn, and what associations they make become increasingly important. Just because it is called "comedy" does not mean that it should not be taken seriously.

Appendix A

Late-night exposure measure: "Do you happen to watch any of the following entertainment programs on television?" followed by a list of several television programs including Jay Leno and Dave Letterman. 48% reported watching neither program, 18% reported watching one of the two, but not very often, 20% reported watching both, but not very often, 6% reported watching one of the programs much of the time; 4.6% reported watching one program much of the time and the other not very often and 1.2% reported watching both programs much of the time.

To determine quantitative equivalents of the three possible responses, an informal survey was sent out to approximately 100 graduate students (of whom 57 responded), asking them how many days of exposure per week (0-5 days) they would infer from each of the three possible responses (no; yes, but not very often; yes, much of the time). The mean of these responses was as follows: Yes, much of the time = 3.76 days; Yes, but not very often = 1.06 days; and No = 0 days. Each of the two late-night exposure responses (to *Jay Leno* and to *Dave Letterman*) was recoded on a scale of zero to one based on the results of this survey, resulting in the following numerical equivalents: Yes, much of the time = 1; Yes, but not very often = .28; No = 0. The total late-night exposure measure was calculated as the sum of these two measures.

This summarized late-night exposure measure has a mean of .3265, a standard deviation of .4151, and kurtosis of 2.249.

Appendix B

Political knowledge items: Each question was followed by randomly ordered responses (Al Gore and Bill Bradley in the case of the Democrats, and George W. Bush and John McCain in the case of the Republicans).

I. Knowledge of Candidate Biographies obtained on first baseline survey.

A. Thinking about the *Democrats* , to the best of your knowledge who a) Was a professional basketball player (Bradley); b) Is the son of a former United States Senator (Gore); c) Voted for tax cuts proposed by President Reagan in 1981 (Bradley); d) Served in the United States Senate (Both)

B. Thinking about the *Republicans* (John McCain and George W. Bush), to the best of your knowledge, who a) Is a state governor (Bush); b) Is a United States Senator (McCain); c) Was a prisoner of war in Vietnam (McCain).

II. Knowledge of Candidate Issue Positions obtained on first baseline survey

A. Thinking about *Democrats*, to the best of your knowledge, who a) Supports a universal health care program (Bradley); b) Favors increased government funding of political campaigns (Bradley); c) Favors giving patients the right to sue their HMO (Both); d) Favors tax-free savings accounts to help parents pay for college (Gore).

B. Thinking about *Republicans*, to the best of your knowledge, who a) Supports giving tax credits or vouchers to people who send their children to private schools (both); b) Has pledged to cut federal income taxes by over $1 trillion in ten years (Bush); c) Supports a ban on soft money campaign contributions (McCain).

III. General Political Knowledge obtained from second baseline survey

A. Which one of the parties is more conservative than the other at the national level? [Randomly ordered response options:] Democrats, Republicans, Don't know

B. Which one of the parties has the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington? [Randomly ordered response options:] Democrats, Republicans, Don't know.

C. Which one of the parties has the most members in the U.S. Senate? [Randomly ordered response options:] Democrats, Republicans, Don't know

D. Who has the final responsibility to decide if a law is Constitutional or not? [Randomly ordered response options:] President, Congress, Supreme Court, Don't know

E. Which one of the following is the main duty of Congress? [Randomly ordered response options:] Write legislation; Administer the President's policies; Watch over the governments of each state; Don't know

F. Whose responsibility is it to nominate judges to the Federal Courts? [Randomly ordered response options:] President, Congress, Supreme Court, Don't know

G. How much of a majority is needed for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto? [Randomly ordered response options:] Bare majority (one more than half the votes), Two-thirds majority, Three-fourths majority, Don't know

H. Do you happen to know what job or political office is currently held by Al Gore? [Randomly ordered response options:] U.S. Senator, U.S. Vice President, Governor of Tennessee, Don't know

I. What job or political office is currently held by Trent Lott? [Randomly ordered response options:] U.S. Senator, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Don't know

J. What job or political office is currently held by William Rehnquist? [Randomly ordered response options:] U.S. Senator, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, Don't know

Appendix C

Content analysis for late-night jokes:
Each joke is coded for the caricature trait(s) central to the joke and can be given one code per candidate. A joke containing two caricature traits about the same candidate is given one code for the caricature trait mentioned first. If no category is applicable to either candidate, both candidates are coded as 0. If the joke is only applicable to one candidate the other receives a 0. The "other" joke category consists of two kinds of jokes: those that tap into something that was mentioned less than three times, and those that mentioned the candidate in the text, but do not make fun of him. For example, in the case of Gore: "Al gore's hitting the campaign trail pretty hard, campaigning pretty hard. Last sunday, he was in washington at a gay rights rally, spoke out in favor of gay rights. Yesterday, at the atlanta ymca, he unveiled his new crime plan, calling for more police. Al gore said if he was elected president, his top priority -- add a second cop to the village people. both groups are happy." These "other" jokes were often Gore jokes that mentioned, but did not specifically mock Gore.

Bush Codes:

Malapropisms: references to Bush's mispronunciations or misuse of words.
Foreign affairs: references to Bush's lack of knowledge of international affairs, mainly geography and names of leaders.
Intelligence: references to Bush's intellectual capacity which are not about mispronunciations or foreign affairs.
Alcohol: references to Bush having had a drinking problem.
Drugs: references to questions of Bush's drug history or lack of memory of college years.
Smirk: references to his smirk.
Friend of the rich: references to Bush's upper-class friendly policies helping only the wealthy.
Silver spoon: references to Bush's wealthy upbringing or use of his father's name to get power
Failing campaign: references to Bush's likely defeat or failing campaign.
Death penalty: references to Bush in terms of Texas exacutions or position on the death penalty.
Swearing: references to Bush's incident calling Adam Clymer of the New York Times a "major league asshole" when he thought the microphone was off.
FLORIDA: references to Bush acting as president before the race is called on Dec 12.

Gore Codes:

Stiff/boring/robotic: references to Gore's boring, uninspiring personality or robotic and stiff appearance.
Reinvents himself: references to Gore's changing personality and the perception that he is willing to do or say anything to get elected.
Exaggerator/liar: references to Gore's exaggerations or lies (e.g.: inventing the internet).

Makeup: references to Gore's use of makeup during the televised debates.
DNC kiss: references to Tipper and Gore's public kiss at the Democratic National Convention.
Environment: any mention of Gore's reputation as an environmental fanatic.
Aggresssive/rude: references to aggressive behavior during the debates, or elsewhere.
Silver spoon: references to Gore's wealthy upbringing or use of his father's name to get power.
Failing campaign: references to Gore's likely defeat or failing campaign.
Lieberman: references to Lieberman's religion or Gore's choice of VP as strategic.
Illegal funding: references to Buddhist monk fundraising incident and other illegal funding.
Florida: references to Gore's refusal to concede of the election in the weeks after November 7.

Appendix D

Control Variables included in the models:
Party-ideology index: scale from –5 to +5 where –5 are strong conservative republicans and +5 are strong liberal democrats.
TV news exposure: average number of days in the past week that the respondents 1. Watched national network news, 2. Watched local TV news, 3. Watched cable news on TV 4. Read a daily newspaper, 5. Listened to political talk radio. All items loaded on the same factor, explaining 40.41% of the variance. Alpha for the news media exposure scale is .64.
Interest: average interest in public affairs and how much the respondent cares which party wins the election. Both items loaded on one factor, explaining 72.64% of the variance. Alpha = .62.
Race: a dummy variable where 1 = white and 0 = non-white.
Gender: a dummy variable where 1 = male and 0 = female.
Age: the participant's age in years.
Income: the participant's self reported income in thousands of dollars.

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[i] The "RATS" controversy refers to a political ad made by the Bush campaign in which the word "RATS" flashed on the screen for a fraction of a second. Republicans argued it was simply part of the word "DEMOC-RATS," while Democrats argued that the Bush campaign was engaging in subliminal advertising.

[ii] Priming analyses will be presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Boston, August, 2002.

[iii] Late-night exposure means comparison. Discussants (Mean = .33, SD = .42) Control group (Mean = .34, SD = .40). ANOVA: (F= .187, Sig. = .666)

[iv] E.g.: Net change in Gore inspiring rating from March to July = (Gore inspiring rating from July survey – Gore inspiring rating from the March survey)

[v] Control variables included in the model: Mean interest, Party-ideology index, TV news exposure, income, race, gender, age

[vi] In predicting net change from early July to early September, all the controls included in the above model remained, with the addition of "overall favorability of the candidate."

[vii] To avoid problems posed by multicolinearity, all interaction terms were centered by subtracting their means, while the main effects remain in their original form (Kleinbaum et al., 1998). The lowest tolerance in any of the twelve regressions was .55.

LEARNING TO DO WHAT COMES NATURALLY: DELIVERY INSTRUCTION IN BROADCAST NEWS TEXTBOOKS

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Abstract: Broadcast news textbooks should draw on linguistic research to offer more principled instruction in conversational delivery. Popular textbooks offer little guidance on which words to emphasize when reading aloud. Research suggests that listeners understand copy read aloud better if the reader puts emphasis where it would fall in natural speech. Textbooks should explain the systematic relationship between parts of speech and emphasis to offer students a system for marking scripts and delivering news more effectively.

Uniform Call for Papers Abstract

LEARNING TO DO WHAT COMES NATURALLY: DELIVERY INSTRUCTION IN BROADCAST NEWS TEXTBOOKS

Abstract: Broadcast news textbooks should draw on linguistic research to offer more principled instruction in conversational delivery. News directors consider a "conversational" delivery desirable. To avoid singsong or monotone delivery, news readers must emphasize words that would be emphasized in natural speech. Research suggests that listeners understand copy read aloud better if the reader puts emphasis where it would fall in natural speech. Popular textbooks offer little guidance on which words to emphasize when reading aloud. Textbooks should explain the systematic relationship between parts of speech and emphasis to offer students a system for marking scripts and delivering news more effectively.

GEIG Abstract

LEARNING TO DO WHAT COMES NATURALLY: DELIVERY INSTRUCTION IN BROADCAST NEWS TEXTBOOKS:

Introduction

In a recent survey of broadcast news directors by Ann Utterback, a respondent from Omaha summed up a frustration felt throughout the industry: "It seems that our education system has forgotten the power of voice. We don't teach people how to use and improve their voices in school. Often by the time they get through college and their first two jobs, it is almost too late. It's great to be a good journalist but if the voice is bad the audience won't listen" (qtd. in Utterback 287).

Across the country, news directors complain that people who want on-air jobs have serious delivery problems – even people who have graduated from college with majors in broadcast news, or people who've come through the broadcast programs of prestigious journalism graduate schools. News directors say they find themselves throwing out audition tapes in a matter of seconds because job candidates just aren't telling their stories well (Utterback 249-312). And the great majority of news directors in Utterback's survey say they have people in their own shops who need to improve their delivery (240).

One reason graduates leave school with poor announcing skills is that broadcast classes tend to give short shrift to delivery, concentrating instead on writing and technical skills such as field recording and studio production. The most popular broadcast textbooks reflect this emphasis. Most offer little or no advice on delivery. Although some voice coaching must be done in person, broadcast textbooks could offer students much more help with delivery than they do. In particular, broadcast texts could offer more principled instruction on how to decide which words in a script to emphasize when reading aloud.

Research demonstrates that the words a speaker chooses to emphasize provide important cues to listeners that aid understanding. Research by linguists shows that in natural speech, speakers spontaneously tend to emphasize certain parts of speech and not others. This study will show that textbooks do not take this research into account and as a result, they fail to offer a simple, principled system students can use to determine which words in a script to emphasize. Some textbooks even offer incorrect instruction, encouraging readers to emphasize words that would not be emphasized in natural speech. By applying principles developed in linguistics, textbooks could offer news reporters and hosts suggestions for marking scripts based on the systematic relationship between parts of speech and emphasis. Such advice could go a long way in removing some of the most common problems in delivery and perhaps even improve listener/viewer comprehension and memory of newscasts.

The Importance of Conversational Emphasis

Opinions of News Directors.

Although broadcast news directors consider reporting skills and appearance important, it's clear that a job candidate's delivery skills are crucial. Utterback surveyed radio and television news directors across the country in 1999 and found that the great majority of them (84% in television and 82% in radio) said voice had "been a factor in [their] hiring or firing of on-air talent" (239). Her survey also found that the preferred style of delivery among news directors is "conversational:" 92% of radio news directors and 89% of TV news directors sought reporters and anchors whose delivery was conversational (241). In written comments, they explained what they meant:

> "Tell me the story. Don't announce it." (253).
> "Just talk to me, tell me, don't 'report' to me" (279).
> "Don't just read the story, tell it like you're talking to a friend" (269).

The news directors identified a number of problems with delivery. The top four are reproduced in Table I.

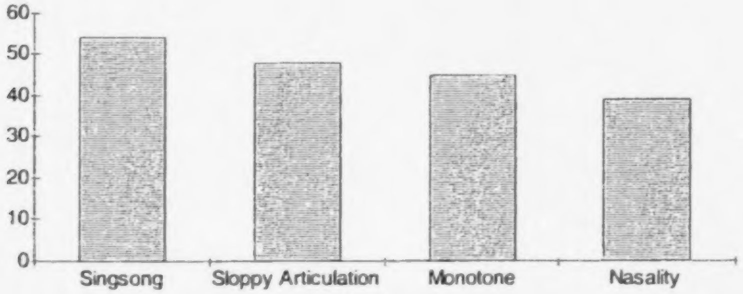

Table I - Frequency of Vocal Problems Identified by News Directors (%)

(Utterback, 243)

It's interesting to note that two of the top three delivery problems – singsong and monotone – are problems with emphasis. A singsong delivery is one in which the wrong words are emphasized. A monotone delivery is one in which no words are adequately emphasized.

Research on Emphasis and Comprehension.

The broadcaster's emphasis is important not just because news directors say they prefer a conversational tone, but because a monotone or singsong delivery may significantly impair the viewer or listener's understanding and memory of the news item.

To my knowledge, no studies of the link between emphasis and comprehension look at broadcast news specifically, but linguists have clearly demonstrated that listeners rely on a speaker's emphasis to understand what the speaker is saying and that misplaced or missing emphasis impairs communication. Clearly, different emphasis can change the meaning of an utterance. Bolinger offers this example, in which the rising and falling type indicates rising and falling pitch, and the accent marks indicate loudness:

líkes
knów
1a. You he m
e.

w,
ó
n
k líkes
1b. You he m
e.
(Bolinger 27)

The two sentences have distinctly different meanings which the speaker conveys by using pitch and loudness to emphasize different words. The first expresses an established fact; Bolinger says it is the equivalent of "You know that he likes me" (27). In the second, the "you know" acts more as an attention-getter; it indicates surprise and discovery. Without these intonational cues, the listener would not know which interpretation was meant.

Kjelgaard and Speer offer another example of the way speakers use emphasis to convey meaning, and listeners rely on emphasis to understand potentially ambiguous sentences:

2a. What's that ahead in the road?
2b. What's that, a HEAD in the ROAD? (153)

A listener hearing either version will have no trouble understanding which interpretation is meant as long as the speaker says certain words louder, or with a higher pitch or longer duration. Clearly, the listener is relying not just on the words themselves but on how they are spoken, the aspect of speech that linguists call prosody. The listener pays attention to changes in pitch, duration, and loudness. Linguists call these changes "prosodic cues."

The importance of prosody in comprehension has been confirmed repeatedly in laboratory research (see, for example Blasko and Hall; Albritton et al.; Kjelgaard and Speer; Cohen et al). Even when sentences are not ambiguous, or subject to different interpretations depending on emphasis (as in the examples above), listeners still rely on prosodic cues to understand spoken language. Cohen et al. asked study subjects to listen to passages of Kafka read either with normal prosody, with a monotone delivery, or with "altered" prosody – prosodic cues where they would not occur in natural speech. Their study found that both altered prosody and a monotone reading significantly interfered with listeners' understanding of the passages and their memory of what was said. In a second study, Cohen et al. asked subjects to read written text with the punctuation removed. The researchers found that subjects remembered and understood written text with the punctuation removed better than they remembered or understood text read aloud with a monotone delivery. Clearly, a speaker's choice of what to emphasize strongly influences a listener's understanding and memory of a text.

But broadcast students are generally not being taught to use their voices to make their stories more understandable. The textbooks most often chosen for broadcast news writing classes are partly to blame. As this study will show, the textbooks do not instruct students to on how to use emphasis to achieve a conversational delivery.

Method

Three methods were used to choose textbooks for this study.

First, textbooks were drawn from the Broadcast Education Association's syllabus project. The BEA completed this project in 2000 (Davie). It was meant to "take inventory of the pedagogical tools broadcast journalism professors have been employing in both radio and television news writing classes" (Broadcast). Project organizers collected syllabi "from 26 colleges and universities where students majored in broadcasting, journalism and mass communication" (Broadcast). The BEA listed the most popular textbooks from broadcast news writing classes on its web site: <http://www.beaweb.org/pubs1.html>. That list is reproduced in the Appendix.

Added to this list were textbooks from a second source, Faculty Online, a service of Monument Information Resource (MIR). MIR "collects and analyzes sales data from college bookstores" ("About"). It divides those data into sections to develop lists of top-selling textbooks by discipline. The titles for this study were drawn from MIR's "Broadcasting" section. It's important to note that the books in that section are not being used in broadcast *news* writing classes exclusively. Some may be used in advertising or production classes, for example. The MIR list as of February 5, 2002 is reprinted in the Appendix.

Finally, web sites of textbook publishers were examined for newly published broadcast news writing or announcing textbooks published between 2000 and 2002 that might not have been published in time to be included on the BEA or Faculty Online lists. These additions are indicated with an asterisk (*) on the list below.

Textbooks which did not relate to broadcast news writing or delivery (those that focused, for example, only on the broadcasting industry) were excluded from the study. Where more recent editions of textbooks on the BEA and Faculty Online lists were available, the more recent editions replaced the older versions for this study. One text from the BEA list was dropped (David Keith Cohler's *Broadcast Journalism: A Guide for the Presentation of Radio and Television News*) because both the 1985 and the 1994 edition are out of print. The final list of textbooks used in this study is reproduced below:

Bliss, Edward Jr. and James L. Hoyt. *Writing News for Broadcast.* 3rd ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Block, Mervin. *Writing Broadcast News: Shorter, Sharper, Stronger.* Chicago: Bonus Books, 1997.

Brooks, Brian S., George Kennedy, Daryl R. Moen and Don Ranly. *Telling the Story: Writing for Print, Broadcast, and Online Media.* Boston: Bedford-St. Martin's, 2001.*

Dotson, Bob. *Make It Memorable: Writing and Packaging TV News with Style.* Chicago: Bonus Books, 2000.*

Hausman, Carl. *Announcing: Broadcast Communicating Today.* Wadsworth: Belmont, CA, 2000.

Hewitt, John. *Air Words: Writing For Broadcast News.* 3rd ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002.

Hilliard, Robert L. *Writing for Television, Radio, and New Media* 7th ed. Wadsworth: Belmont, CA, 2000.*

Hyde, Stuart. *Television & Radio Announcing* 9th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.

Mayeux, Peter E. *Broadcast News Writing & Reporting.* 2nd ed. Boston: McGraw Hill, 1996.

Papper, Robert A. *Broadcast News Writing Stylebook.* 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2002.

Reese, David E., Mary E. Beadle and Alan R. Stephenson. *Broadcast Announcing Worktext: Performing for Radio, Television, and Cable.* Boston: Focal Press, 2000.

Redmond, James, Frederick Shook and Dan Lattimore. *The Broadcast News Process.* Englewood, Colorado: Morton, 2001.

Stephens, Mitchell. *Broadcast News.* 3rd ed. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993.

Tuggle, C.A., Forrest Carr and Suzanne Huffman. *Broadcast News Handbook: Writing, Reporting, and Producing.* Boston: McGraw Hill, 2001.

Utterback, Ann. *Broadcast Voice Handbook: How to Polish Your On-Air Delivery.* Chicago: Bonus Books, 2000.*

Walters, Roger L. Broadcast Writing: Principles and Practices. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 1994.

White, Ted. *Broadcast News Writing, Reporting, and Producing.* 3rd ed. Boston: Focal Press, 2002.

Wulfmeyer, K. Tim. *Beginning Broadcast Newswriting: A Self-Instructional Learning Experience.* 3rd ed. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1993.

These textbooks were examined to develop answers to three questions:

RQ1. Did the books contain instruction about using emphasis to achieve conversational delivery?

RQ2. If the text did contain such instruction, was it principled? That is, did the text offer a systematic approach to determining which words to emphasize that students could apply to their own broadcast scripts?

RQ3. If the text contained instruction regarding emphasis, did that instruction reflect the systematic relationship between emphasis and parts of speech?

Findings and Discussion

Problems with textbook treatments of delivery.

Three of the textbooks on the above list focus on announcing, but it's not clear whether they are being used in broadcast news writing classes. Two come from the MIR list (which includes textbooks for advertising classes) and the third (Utterback) was added to the list because it is recent. Some evidence seems to indicate that announcing textbooks are not popular in broadcast news writing classes. The BEA's list included no announcing textbooks, and the syllabi posted as part of the BEA syllabus project showed that no broadcast news writing instructor required an announcing textbook as a main or supplementary text. (My own informal perusal of broadcast news syllabi posted on the Internet had similar results. I found no class in which an announcing text was required.) It appears that announcing is not a major part of most broadcast news writing classes, if it is addressed at all. This omission is reflected in the popular broadcast news writing textbooks. These texts tend to offer little, if any, information about delivery, and what they do offer tends to be unsystematic. Students would be hard pressed to find advice they can take from these texts and apply to their own work.

Of the 18 textbooks examined in this study, nine offer little or no advice about delivery. Six (Block; Brooks; Hilliard; Papper; Stephens; and Wulfmeyer) do not address delivery at all. Block's very popular textbook offers some excellent writing suggestions, but never discusses how to deliver the story once it is written. Many authors, such as Papper and Hilliard, admonish readers to write conversationally, but offer no suggestions on speaking conversationally. Other texts, such as those by Brooks and Stephens, suggest that a writer should read copy aloud while writing, but they don't tell the writer what to listen for while reading aloud, and they don't offer any tips for what to do when it finally comes to voicing a story or delivering a newscast.

Others suggest expressing emotion with one's voice, but don't explain how to do it. Dotson urges readers to deliver a voiceover "with authority, spontaneity, feeling," but offers no tips on how to do this. Similarly, Tuggle et al. do not mention delivery, except to say that an anchor's resume tape should demonstrate "proper tone, inflection, and emoting" (221). The book offers no explanation of what proper inflection would be. In a 400-page textbook on broadcast news writing, reporting, and producing, Redmond et al. devote one-half of one page to delivery tips. They advise readers to try to sound conversational, and offer this suggestion: "Vary your speaking pace slightly as you read, and avoid rhythmic reading patterns" (262). None of these nine texts discusses choosing words to emphasize in a script.

The remaining nine textbooks at least mention the need to choose which words to emphasize when delivering a script, but the discussion is generally quite cursory, often limited to a sentence or one or two paragraphs. Eight of the nine offer no principled, systematic approach for determining which words to stress. Hewitt offers a marked script with stressed words underlined (38), but no discussion at all of how those words were chosen. Several texts suggest that news readers should emphasize "key words," but they don't make clear how to figure out what those key words are. Mayeux says, "Vary the pitch of your voice.... Some reporters underline a key word or two in each sentence to remind themselves to emphasize these words when reading their copy aloud" (288). White says, "Most newscasters mark copy to help them remember when to pause or to emphasize certain words" (131). Walters suggests "emphasizing certain words or phrases within a body of copy" (46).

In some instances, no advice at all is offered for figuring out what these key words are. Some texts do offer suggestions for finding the key words, but this advice would be more complete if it mentioned the systematic connection between emphasis and parts of speech explained in the next section. Bliss and Hoyt admonish newscasters to emphasize "those words that contribute most" (101). Similarly, Hausman explains that "[k]ey words are *those that accurately convey the meaning of the copy*" (60). He suggests that a news reader look through copy and "identify *three* words that summarize the thrust" (60). To clarify this definition, Hausman offers some examples of copy and shows how the meaning changes when different words are stressed. This is useful material, but it ignores the fact that certain *types* of words in English are rarely stressed in natural speech, as we shall see in the next section.

A Linguistic Approach to Emphasis.

Perhaps one reason these textbooks offer so little useful advice about delivery is that many people in the business believe good broadcast delivery can't be learned from a book. To some extent, this is surely true. Newscasters, hosts and reporters should probably all have someone listen to them to correct odd vocal mannerisms. It would be impossible to give broadcasters a simple, written system that explained what word to stress under all circumstances. Stress in spontaneous, spoken language is systematic, but the system is complex – so much so that it's hard to teach a computer to speak with natural-sounding emphasis (Altenberg 47). But textbooks certainly could offer more help than they do. They could give students and professionals in the field some general rules about emphasis that would go a long way toward alleviating the major problems in delivery identified by news directors: making broadcasters sound less sing-song, less monotone, and more conversational. At the very least, broadcast textbooks should explain the difference between content words and function words, and show how these words behave with respect to emphasis.

Stress content words, not function words.

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are content words. They are also sometimes called lexical words, or open class words, because the language's storehouse of them is open to change. We develop new nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs all the time. There are a lot more content words than function words (Fromkin and Rodman 67). Function words don't have meanings in and of themselves, but express the relationships between the content words in a sentence. They are also called grammatical words, or closed class words. We don't get new ones very often. The function words include conjunctions, prepositions, determiners, and pronouns (Fromkin and Rodman 67) as well as auxiliary verbs ("helping" verbs) and forms of the verb *be* (Radford et al. 151). (See Table 2 below.)

Content Words:

- nouns: *backlash, Nutra-Sweet, golden retriever*
- verbs: *itch, undulate, bring up, shout*
- adjectives: *quiet, sincere, idiotic, happy*
- adverbs: *quietly, sincerely, idiotically, happily*

Function Words:

- prepositions: *over, underneath, in, about, through*
- determiners: *the, a, this, that*
- conjunctions: *and, or, but, however*
- modal auxiliary verbs: *could, would, should, may, might*
- forms of *be*: *is, are, was, were, be, am, being, been*
- pronouns: *he, you, him, her, us, it*

Table 2 - Examples of Content Words and Function Words

Linguists have determined that, as Aimo Seppänen sums up,

> by virtue of their central semantic role in relating language to the non-linguistic world, the lexical words, of the open classes of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and (most of) adverbs, tend to take full stress, whereas the grammatical words, of various closed classes and often mere structural markers required by the syntax of the language, generally tend to be unstressed. (43)

Surely broadcast textbooks could at least go that far: in general, don't stress function words; stress content words.

Stress sentence-final information.

The question of *which* lexical words are likely to receive emphasis in spontaneous speech is more difficult. The basic rule is that the last lexical word in a sentence tends to receive the heaviest stress (Carr 232). For example:

3a. A lone gunman fired at the mayor.
3b. A lone gunman fired at him.

In sentence (3a), the stress would fall on *mayor*; in sentence (3b), it would fall on *fired*. (Since *him* is a pronoun, it does not usually take stress). One thing that gives some broadcasters a sing-song, disengaged, unnatural sound is that they stress the last word in each sentence or phrase, whether it is lexical or not.

Stress new information.

But clearly, the sentence stress rule alone does not account for all the places stress falls in a sentence. A newscaster reading (3a) might also stress the words *gunman*, or *fired*, in addition to the word *mayor*. That's because another factor that influences emphasis is which words in a discourse are providing new information (Finegan 278). For example:

4a. The mayor was hit in the shoulder by one shot, but is not seriously hurt.
4b. Investigators are guessing that a lone gunman fired the shots.

In sentence (4b), the sentence stress rule might lead us to expect the heaviest stress to fall on *shots*, since it is the last lexical word. But if (4b) follows (4a), then *shots* is given information, not new; we already know about the shooting. What's new is who did it, the *lone gunman*, and it would likely take the heaviest stress.

The rule that places stress on sentence-final lexical items is related to the rule that stress tends to fall on new information; speakers often place new information at the end of the sentence. In fact, rather than sentence (4b), it's at least as likely that a speaker would say,

5. Investigators say the shots came from a lone gunman.

But when new information does come in the middle of a sentence, rather than the end, stress tends to fall on that new information, rather than on whatever lexical item is at the end of the sentence.

Stress contrastive information.

Still another factor influencing stress is whether the speaker wishes to show contrast (Finegan 278). Contrastive stress can fall on almost any word in either category, lexical or grammatical:

> 6. Her testimony contradicted that of earlier witnesses. She said the gun was lying on the table, not under the table.
>
> 7. The governor's budget doesn't include money for scholarships, but it does help students get loans.

In sentence (6), two prepositions are stressed, even though they are function words, to show that they contrast with one another. In sentence (7), the auxiliary verb ("helping verb") *does* is stressed to show contrast with *doesn't* in the preceding phrase.

Applying Linguistic Principles to Announcing

Not only do textbooks generally fail to apply these principles. Some actually offer advice or examples that contradict these rules. For example, White provides an example of a marked script that includes this sentence:

> 8. THE COMPANY DID NOT WANT TO ENDANGER ITS 200 EMPLOYEES AT THE CENTER. (137)

Here, an auxiliary verb, *did*, is emphasized, even though there's no reason to believe it has been emphasized for contrastive purposes. If it is read aloud as marked, this sentence sounds strange and awkward. So which words should be emphasized? *Center* is the last lexical word in the sentence, but it is old information. Earlier in the story, we were told this was the Salt River Project's West Valley Service Center. The best choice for emphasis is *200 employees*. These words provide the new information here; this is the first time employees have been mentioned in the story.

Similarly, in his otherwise excellent book, Hewitt gives an example of marked copy that includes emphasis on words that would not be emphasized in natural, "conversational" speech and misses some of the words that would.

> 9a. A NEW SURVEY IS REPORTING HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS WILL HAVE SEEN AT LEAST 20-THOUSAND MURDERS // IN THE MOVIES AND ON TV // BY THE TIME THEY ENTER COLLEGE.
>
> THE REPORT FROM THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATIONS AT PENN STATE SAYS THE EXPOSURE TO MANY VIOLENT ACTS COULD DAMAGE THEIR PERSONALITIES ... AND DESENSITIZE THEM TO COMMON KINDNESS. (38)

This copy calls for stressing a possessive pronoun (*their*) and an objective pronoun (*them*), neither of which is normally stressed in spontaneous speech. Again, there's no reason here to believe these grammatical words are being stressed to show some kind of contrast. Further, the copywriter suggests emphasizing the word *exposure*, even though the exposure to violence is not new information. It was just mentioned in the previous sentence. Try reading this copy aloud as marked. It sounds stilted, like a parody of a news anchor. If, instead, the reader emphasizes new information and sentence-final lexical words, the story ends this way:

> 9b. ...SAYS THE EXPOSURE TO MANY VIOLENT ACTS COULD DAMAGE THEIR PERSONALITIES ... AND DESENSITIZE THEM TO COMMON KINDNESS.

Other broadcast writing texts have similar problems. Hausman, for example, provides a series of examples of marked scripts that are generally quite good, but in one the writer has underlined a preposition and an auxiliary verb, neither of which is usually emphasized in natural speech (83). In fact, of the nine texts that discuss delivery, only one, Utterback, discusses the systematic relationship between parts of speech and emphasis, although Reese et al. say that the key words in copy "aren't always just nouns and verbs" (55).

Suggestions for future textbooks.

What should broadcast texts say? They might go so far as to explain the sentence stress rule, the given-new rule, and the contrastive stress rule, but perhaps they needn't offer that much detail. It would be helpful for texts merely to offer this advice: in general, do not stress grammatical words unless you are doing so deliberately to show contrast. Such advice could make a very real difference in the performance of broadcasters. A couple of examples of poor delivery taken from actual broadcasts will demonstrate how much this one, simple rule could help.

Reese et al. include an instructional CD with their textbook that offers audio and video clips of news and commercial delivery. Many of the professionals whose work is used here demonstrate some of the very delivery problems highlighted by news directors in Utterback's survey. For example, here is a transcript of a portion of one television news story used on the CD, with the reporter's emphasis indicated:

> 10. This is now being called the largest tire fire ever in the state and with Chopper 11 overhead you can see why. It has been over 24 hours and the flames are powerfully fueled – all the work, according to police, of a 15 year old boy. (Chandler)

This reporter emphasizes a pronoun (*you*) and a form of *be* (*been*). She seems to be emphasizing words rhythmically, rather than choosing to emphasize words according to a logical system. As a result, her delivery is singsong and sounds like that of a stereotypical TV announcer. No one overhearing the piece could mistake it for someone telling a story to a friend. If this reporter thought about what words to emphasize ahead of time and marked them in her script, and if she knew not to emphasize grammatical words, the delivery would be markedly better. Try it yourself. Read it her way. Then simply remove the emphasis on grammatical words and read it that way.

Here's one more real-world example. The following script was read on Minnesota Public Radio. The words the news reader emphasized are underlined here.

> 13. The Hillside Flyers are kids who tumble. But that's only part of the story. Many of the Flyers come from the poorest parts of Duluth. And they don't go to music lessons or summer hockey camp. Some of the kids have problems at school and at home, and tumbling with the Flyers is the only thing they believe they're good at.

Try reading this script aloud emphasizing the underlined words, and you will produce something approximating the wooden, disengaged delivery of this news host. The host has a beautiful natural speaking voice. Her unnatural on-air style stems largely from the words she emphasizes. The words *are, or, and,* and *they* are all function words. Try reading it aloud with some content words emphasized instead:

> 14. The Hillside Flyers are kids who tumble. But that's only part of the story. Many of the Flyers come from the poorest parts of Duluth. And they don't go to music lessons or summer hockey camp. Some of the kids have problems at school and at home, and tumbling with the Flyers is the only thing they believe they're good at.

Another news reader might make somewhat different choices, but as long as the words chosen are lexical, rather than grammatical, the reader is likely to sound more conversational than the host who read this script did.

For Further Study

Despite the importance news directors place on delivery, it's not clear how important delivery is to the audience. Little, if any, research has been done on what effect delivery has on audience comprehension or retention of news. It *is* clear, though, that audience members do not understand or retain what they hear on the radio or TV very well. Many researchers have documented the fact that viewers believe they learn a lot more from TV than they really do (see, for example, Gunter 306-307 or Leshner and Coyle 599). For example, one study demonstrated that after watching a network news broadcast, a majority of viewers was unable to name a single story that had appeared in the program (Gunter 42). Many researchers have sought to figure out why audience members learn so little from broadcast news. Gunter examines a number of factors, such as writing, use of visuals, pace of stories, grouping of stories, and gender of the newscaster. Other research explores factors such as the use of varied formats (Brosius); whether viewers remember TV stories better if they include film (Graber and many others); whether the use of taped "sound bites" contributes to understanding of radio stories (Wulfemeyer and McFadden); use of flashy production techniques (Grabe et al.); complexity of stories (Burriss); effects of repetition (Bernard and Coldevin); and familiarity with the subject matter (Findahl and Höijer). None of these studies has fully accounted for the ineffectiveness of broadcast news in delivering information to viewers and listeners.

The linguistic studies cited earlier indicate that emphasis is important to understanding and memory of spoken discourse. But these studies usually involved listeners hearing isolated sentences read aloud. The Kjelgaard and Speer study did look at longer pieces of text read aloud. But to my knowledge, no study has used actual newscasts to look at the effect of misplaced emphasis on listeners. It seems quite likely that poor delivery may be to blame for some of the problems with viewer memory and comprehension. But it's not clear how much, if at all, a sing-song or monotone delivery impairs understanding or retention of broadcast news. Nor is it known whether a delivery with natural-sounding emphasis is preferred by listeners and viewers. It seems likely that viewers and listeners want a news reader who talks to them, not at them. Further study is needed to determine whether a delivery with misplaced emphasis leads members of the audience to change the channel in search of a news reader they like better.

Acknowledgement: The author wishes to thank Dr. Kathryn Riley.

Appendix

BEA Syllabus Project list of most popular textbooks:

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Axis of Evil vs. Sunshine Frame:

U.S. and S. Korean TV News Coverage of President Bush's Visit to S. Korea

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Axis of Evil vs. Sunshine Frame:

U.S. and S. Korean TV News Coverage of President Bush's Visit to S. Korea

Abstract

This study examines how different frames were used by the U.S. and South Korean network news in covering President Bush's visit to three Asian countries. Authors predicted that the U.S. media would use an "Axis of Evil" frame while South Korean media would use a "Sunshine" frame, each reflecting their government's policy toward North Korea.

A total of 79 broadcasting news stories, sampled from four U.S. networks (NBC, CBS, ABC, FOX) and three South Korean networks (KBS, MBC, SBS), were content analyzed. The unit of analysis was a scene. By applying Entman's four definitions of framing, the Axis of Evil frame was divided into "rogue state," "causing terror," "bring justice," and "war or sanction" sub-frames and the Sunshine frame was divided into "negotiation partner," "isolated from world," "anti-war," and "peace talk" sub-frames. Each scene was coded according to the eight sub-frames.

The results showed that the U.S. network news used the Axis of Evil frame, while the Sunshine frame was used in South Korean networks. The U.S. also often used the rogue state sub-frame while South Korean networks often used the peace talk frame, which also represent each country's current policy toward North Korea.

Axis of Evil vs. Sunshine Frame:

U.S. and S. Korean TV News Coverage of President Bush's Visit to S. Korea

"Our war against terror is only beginning. Iran, Iraq and North Korea... states like these and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil" (President Bush's State of the Union Address at the Congress in January 29, 2002). Since U.S. President George W. Bush singled out Iran, Iraq and North Korea as an "Axis of Evil" in the State of the Union Address last January, the word "evil" has become the most feared word for South Koreans. Many South Koreans thought that President Bush's speech brought the Cold War back to the Korean peninsula and clouded president Dae Jung Kim's "Sunshine" policy. (New York Times, February 13, 2002)

In fact, the word "evil" reemerged again when President Bush visited South Korea in February. While touring the demilitarized zone (DMZ), President Bush reacted with disgust when he learned that the axes used to slaughter two American soldiers in 1979 are exhibited in the Peace Museum across the border in North Korea: "No wonder I think they are evil." These remarks by President Bush were aired by ABC and NBC, but were not mentioned in Korean network news.

Communication scholars have argued that news media tend to reflect their own government's policies in reporting international issues (Herman, 1993). The recent trip of President Bush to three Asian countries provided a unique opportunity to test if the network news from the two countries – the U.S. and South Korea – were different in reflecting each country's policy towards North Korea. South Korea had been trying to embrace North Korea with peace talks and economic aid while the U.S. was questioning South Korea's sunshine policy. Entman also emphasized the importance of comparing news coverage of similar events to help reveal "the critical textual choices that framed the story" (Entman, 1991).

Network television news today occupies an important role as an observer and conveyer of news about foreign affairs. According to Cohen (1963), foreign affairs news is made out of the interplay between policy makers and international correspondents. The coverage of foreign affairs also can influence public opinions. According to a recent Gallop poll, only 23% of the respondents answered that they have a favorable attitude towards North Korea, which was lower than the 26% expressed for Afghanistan (Chosun Ilbo, February 24, 2002). Apparently, President Bush's evil axis comments have influence public perceptions of North Korea.

This study will examine how the U.S. and South Korean television news media have covered president Bush's visit to three Asian countries. The content analysis will examine the news frames the two countries used in covering President Bush's visit to South Korea. The purpose of the study is to examine if media coverage closely followed the government stand on North Korea and if so, how government policies are reflected in each country's network news. How well framing methodology works in an international, cross-cultural setting will be examined also.

News Frames

The idea of framing was first introduced by Goffman (1974) and has been widely applied by Entman (1993). This framing process involves reporters and editors selecting and highlighting particular aspects of reality while obscuring or omitting other elements (Goffman, 1974). One of the reputed descriptions of news frames was Entman's discussion (1993). He explained how the media frame an issue or a story:

> *Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p.52)*

More specifically, McQuail(2000) explained that the news media framing process includes using certain words or phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or film, and referring to certain sources. Entman (1991) also pointed out that news frames were constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in news narratives.

Framing is more conspicuous under certain situations. The more distant the events, the easier it is to achieve some consensual framing because the sources of alternative views have less access and the audience is less personally involved (McQuail, 2000). Kuypers (1995) found that framing has more powerful effects when it comes to a certain issue to which people have limited, if any, first-hand access, such as an international crisis event. This "crisis" frame is often found in western media, especially when reporting on developing countries. Richstad and Anderson (1981) argued, "Even non-crisis news is often reported with undertones of crisis."

Foreign News Coverage

Many researchers assert that international news reporters reflect their own countries' interest in reporting foreign news stories (Bennet, 1990; Entman, 1991; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Lee & Yang, 1995). The reason the U.S. mainstream news media follow government policy in foreign news coverage is because "the government can employ ideological weapons like anti-communism, a demonized enemy or alleged national security threats to keep the media compliant" in foreign news (Herman, 1993, p. 47). In reporting government agenda, reporters tend to show a double standard, even if "this often requires that they contradict themselves and ignore relevant information that was incompatible with the agenda. (ibid., p. 50)" In this regard, Herman and Chomsky (1998) argue that U.S. mainstream media serve as "propaganda instruments" or "supportive arms" of the U.S. government. Under the circumstance of national crisis, the pro-government tendency of the mainstream media is particularly predominant. Ella Shohat (1994) writes, "From the very inception of the Gulf Crisis, the dominant U.S. media failed to fulfill the role of independent journalism. Instead, it acted as public relations for the State Department" (p. 147). During the crisis in the Persian

Gulf, Douglas Kellner (1992) argued that mainstream U.S. media served as a "mouthpiece" and "amplifier" for U.S. foreign policy.

Lee and Yang (1995) found that foreign policy concern plays an important role in determining how the media cover international events. By comparing news stories of two countries; the Associated Press for the U.S. and the Kyoto for Japan, the authors found that the AP coverage highlighted the Chinese protesters' yearning for freedom and democracy and defined the movement as a fight for democracy and human right, whereas the Kyoto News Agency reported on factual developments of the demonstration. By pin-pointing the human right issues, the AP reports were consistent with the U.S. policy to China whereas the Kyoto News Agency coverage reflected Japan's reluctance to confront Chinese government due to economic interests.

Zaremba paid attention to media coverage of Middle East conflicts. He compared 1973 Arab-Israel War coverage of six newspapers: the Daily Graphic of Ghana, the Times of the Great Britain, the Asahi Shinmun of Japan, the Straight Times of Singapore, the Moscow News of the Soviet Union, and the New York Times of the United States. The study showed that all six nation's coverage were significantly different, interpreting the war according to the political and ideological alliance of their home countries (Zaremba, 1988).

The U.S. and Korean news coverage

Previous studies of U.S. and South Korea media relations supported the international news reporting patterns. A recent study on how the U.S. and South Korean television news coverage was different before and after the 2000 summit of the two Korean leaders found that there were significant differences in the U.S. and South Korean network news (Shin & Ha, 2000). Although both the U.S. and the South Korean networks covered North Korea more favorably after the 2000 Summit, the U.S. television aired diplomatic and military issues as their primary focus, which reflected U.S. government's concern with North Korea's nuclear weapon development, while South Korean network news focused more on cultural and humanitarian issues.

A comparative analysis on how the U.S. and South Korea media portrayed North Korea's nuclear threat in 1994 also showed that the two countries' newspapers advocated their own government's policies (Shim, 1998). Content analysis of the New York Times and Washington Post of the U.S. and Chosun Ilbo and Donga Ilbo of South Korea demonstrated that the U.S. newspapers, especially the Washington Post, fervently favored sanctions or military actions against North Korea whereas South Korean media kept silence.

Traditionally the U.S. television and mainstream media coverage of South Korea has been low and intermittent (Larson, 1990). Larson pointed out four distinctive features of coverage on Korea by the U.S. media. First, student demonstrations were the dominant symbol of protest for both television and print media. Second, political violence composed a large amount of coverage. Third, coverage of South Korea showed the tendency of television to "presidentialize" its international coverage. A lot of attention was paid to stories that involved the president, such as state visits. Fourth, coverage of South Korean economic growth and trade relationship between the U.S. was missing in television news.

Background

After the Soviet Union opened the doors for the Western World in 1991, only one region remains as a country behind an "Iron Curtain" – North Korea. Ever since the Korean War in 1952, South and North Korea have kept a tense hostile relation across the DMZ. North Korea criticized South Korea as being a "puppet state" of the U.S., and South Korea viewed North Korea as a dangerous military regime ruled by a dictator.

The U.S. was also deeply involved in the South-North Korea relationship. The U.S. government helped South Korea's government to establish a democratic system out of the Korean War and still 37,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea to protect against North Korea. North Korea's movement for the last half century was to "free South Koreans from the Imperialist America," and the U.S. viewed North Korea as one of world's most dangerous regimes.

This hostile atmosphere had been toughened by periodic confrontations and crisis: the 1968 seizure of the Pueblo, the U.S. Navy intelligence-gathering ship; the 1979 ax murder of two American soldiers at the Panmunjom, "Peace Village" in the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ); the 1993 Rangoon terrorist bombing that killed many

South Koreas senior officials; and the bombing of a Korean Airline plane in 1987. The U.S.-North Korea relationship worsened in 1993 when North Korea refused to allow inspections of nuclear facilities, which U.S. officials suspected was a nuclear weapon plant.

It was in the late 1990s that North Korea began to open up some communication channels with South Korea. Because of a long drought and lack of aid from the former Soviet Union, North Korea went through a severe food shortage and famine. Out of hunger, many North Koreans escaped to China and formed refugee camps. North Korea had no choice but to resume talks with South Korea and the U.S.

South Korea also went through many changes. After 40 years of military regime, which took a tough stance on North Korea, new civilian governments were installed. When President Dae Jung Kim, who had long been a sympathizer of North Korea, was elected in 1998, he proposed a "Sunshine" policy. The Sunshine policy includes: 1) pursuing steady improvement of relations; 2) encouraging North Korean reformation and opening; 3) separating political and economic relations; 4) pursuing reciprocity; and 5) increasing unity with allied and friendly nations (Abramowitz and Laney, 1999). Under this Sunshine policy South Korea promoted cooperation and exchanges, instead of confrontations.

The Sunshine policy was highlighted when the two Korean presidents made a historic summit at Pyongyang in June 2000, which was the first encounter of the leaders of the two Koreas since the separation over half century ago. The leaders reached a landmark agreement on reconciliation, cooperation and unification, which reduced tension on the Korean peninsula. In 2000, the two Koreas agreed to allow hundreds of family members separated by the Korean War to be temporarily reunited in Seoul and in Pyongyang. South Korea also sent long serving Communist prisoners back to North Korea and rebuilt Kyung-in trans-Korea railways.

There was also some criticism about President Dae Jung Kim's Sunshine policy. Opposition leaders contended that South Korea's economy suffered because the government spent too much money on aiding North Korea. North Korea was also criticized for using the sunshine policy to get aid from South Korea. North Korea concerned only about the regime's survival and demanded cash without any real commitment to better relations (The Economist, February 23, 2002)

As a long time ally to South Korea, the U.S. government stood by the Sunshine policy. Former U.S. President Clinton repeatedly spoke of his support for the sunshine policy and also tried to improve relationships with North Korea. Soon after the summit, the Clinton administration lifted economic sanctions, which had been imposed on North Korea for more than half century. On October 23, 2000, former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright was the first high U.S. official to visit Pyongyang and met with Kim Jung Il, the leader of North Korea.

The relationship began to change as newly elected U.S. President Bush voiced skepticism about the North during a Washington summit with President Kim of the South. After that, Pyongyang froze talks and called off a family reunion meeting planned for late last year. This uneasy relationship between the U.S. and North Korea undermined President Dae Jung Kim's Sunshine policy, which earned him the Nobel Prize in 2000. President Kim also reshuffled his cabinet members in an effort to regain support and even fired Foreign Minister Han Seung-soo for failing to deal with the hawks in Washington (U.S. News & World Reports, February 18, 2002, p. 27).

Hypotheses

To analyze the meaning of President Bush's visit to South Korea, this study proposed two different frames drawn from President Bush's and President Kim's diplomatic policies: "Axis of Evil" frame and "Sunshine" frame. The former belongs to a "conflict" frame while the latter can be called a "solution" frame. To view the frames in detail, researchers divided the two frames into two sets of four sub-frames according to Entman's four aspects of framing; *problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p.52)*

The Axis of Evil frame was divided into "rogue state" (problem defining), "causing terror" (causal interpretation), "bring justice" (moral evaluation), and "war or sanction" (treatment recommendation) sub-frames whereas the Sunshine frame was divided into "negotiation partner" (problem definition), "isolated from world" (causal interpretation), "anti-war" (moral evaluation) and "peace talk" (treatment recommendation) sub-frames <Table1>.

[Insert Table 1 here]

Based on previous discussion and proposed frames, these hypotheses were constructed.

H1 (different frames): The U.S. and South Korean networks used different frames in reporting president Bush's visit to three Asian countries.

H1a: The U.S. networks primarily used the Axis of Evil frame.

H1b: South Korean networks primarily used the Sunshine frame.

It is important to identify a dominant figure as a source in news stories. Journalists rely on sources to produce and develop media frames (Reese et al., 1994) Traditionally countries' policies are represented by the governments. Authors assumed that presidents and officials were used as crucial representatives to promote frames.

H2 (figure-frame relationship): The U.S. and South Korean networks featured their presidents and officials as dominant figures in their own frame news.

H2a: In the U.S. network, President Bush and officials were used as dominant figures in Axis of Evil framed news

H2b: In South Korean networks, President Kim and officials were used as dominant figures in Sunshine framed news.

Method

To test these hypotheses, the researchers conducted content analysis on broadcast news about the U.S. President Bush's visit to South Korea covered by three U.S. and three South Korean television networks; ABC, CBS, NBC and FOX for the U.S. and KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) and SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) for South Korea. The selected broadcasting stations are regarded as representing national networks in each country.

The population of U.S. news coverage was defined as all news stories dealing with the President Bush's visit to South Korea in the news programs of the major three U.S. networks. The population of South Korean news coverage was defined as all news stories dealing with the President Bush's visit to South Korea in the news programs of the major three South Korean networks. The analysis was conducted on news reports from February 17, 2002, to February 22, 2002. This period was the days when President Bush paid official visits to Japan, South Korea and China. Even though President Bush visited Korea on February 19 and 20, a total of six days, including two more days before and after his stay in Korea, was taken into account. The reason is because the main issue concerning President Bush's visit to three Asian countries became North Korea, and the U.S. and Korean networks kept reporting on North Korea during his six-day visit. Among news stories aired in this period, researchers selected any news stories that mentioned both President Bush and North Korea. The news that covered only President Bush without North Korea, i.e., U.S.-Japan summit talk or President Bush's air force one, and stories on first ladies, were excluded. The search yielded 22 stories from the four U.S. networks' coverage and 57 stories from three South Korean broadcasting.

The U.S. news samples were drawn from each main news programs of three networks; World News Tonight with Peter Jennings (ABC), CBS Evening News (CBS), Nightly News with Tom Brokaw (NBC) and Fox Report with Shepard Smith (FOX). Three assistants watched and recorded whole news stories in each program for the time period. The Korean news sample was drawn in the same way from News 9 (KBS), News Desk (MBC) and 8 O'clock news (SBS).

Data Coding.

A news story in broadcasting consists of a few scenes and a scene consists of a few cuts. A story can be divided by an anchor's introduction and a news reporter's appearance. A scene can be differentiated from another scene when an event takes on a new place or when a subject of a story is changed. A cut can be defined as each edited picture.

The coding unit in this research was defined as a scene because it is a minimum unit containing consistent story logic. A whole story had too much information and frames that have various meaning. A cut was too short to measure its frame and meaning. In addition, a number of consecutive cuts could be categorized into a same frame altogether.

A total of 537 scenes were coded along with several criteria; (1) frames (2) sub-frames (3) dominant figures and (4) other basic facts (broadcasting station, date, length in seconds and the number of cuts in a scene etc). The anchor or reporter's scene was chosen as a coding unit in the same way as other scenes.

Frames were divided into Axis of Evil frame and Sunshine frame in terms of how they viewed North Korea. The former represented the voices of President Bush and U.S. officials and the latter represented the main policy of President Kim and South Korean officials. The two frames were further divided into four sub-frames according to Entman's discussion of framing. Axis of evil frame was divided into (1) rogue state, (2) causing terror, (3) bringing justice and (4) war or sanction. Sunshine frame was divided into (1) negotiation partner, (2) isolated from world, (3) Anti- war and (4) peace talk. The scenes about military parades in North Korea were regarded a causing terror sub-frame. Anti- war protests that occurred in South Korea against President Bush's visit were counted in as an anti-war sub-frame while pro-American protests were counted in as a bringing justice sub-frame. The scenes that have more than one frame or don't have any frame were recorded as a "neutral" frame.

Dominant figures were divided into two groups: (1) President Bush and U.S. officials and (2) President Kim and South Korean officials. Every scene covering the dominant figure's speech or pictures in dominant proportion was checked. When a figure took up more than 80% of the picture or when the figure's speech and behavior were paraphrased or described by a reporter, the figure was counted as a dominant figure.

Reliability.

The coding was conducted by two researchers. To test inter-coder reliability, each researcher coded the same 81 scenes out of 10 news stories (15% of the sample size). Using the Holsti's formula, inter-corder reliability was 85.6% for overall, 93.8% for frames, 80.3% for sub-frames and 82.7% for dominant figures.

Result

The researchers analyzed a total of 486 television news story scenes (ABC: 32, CBS: 37, NBC: 47, FOX: 51, KBS: 130, MBC: 120 and SBS: 120) using a statistical program package, SPSS.

H1: The U.S. and South Korean networks were shown to use significantly different frames ($\chi2=38.310$, df=2, p<. 01). <Table 2> presents that U.S networks used Axis of Evil frame (53 scenes) more than Sunshine frame (40 scenes). On the contrary, South Korean networks had far more Sunshine framed news (159 scenes) than Axis of Evil framed news (42 scenes). In the case of neutral frame subtracted, the frame difference between U.S. and South Korean networks was significant ($\chi2=37.872$, df=1, p<. 01). In sub-frames <Table 3>, there were significant differences in using eight sub-frames in both U.S. networks ($\chi2=25.796$, df=7, p<. 01) and South Korean networks ($\chi2=196.652$, df=7, p<. 01). U.S. networks used rogue state sub-frame (25 scenes, 26.9%) more than any other sub-frames while South Korean networks used peace talk sub-frame (84 scenes, 41.8%) predominantly.

[Insert Table 2 here]

[Insert Table 3 here]

H2 (figure-frame relationship): The dominant figures were significantly associated with frames in both the U.S. networks ($\chi2=6.619$, df=2, p<. 05) and South Korean networks ($\chi2=12.228$, df=2, p<. 01). The result was also calculated with neutral figure scenes subtracted. As <Table 4> shows, U.S. networks reported U.S. figure scenes in Axis of Evil frame (14 scenes, 48.3%) more than Sunshine frame (7 scenes, 24.1%), while they rarely reported South Korean figure scenes. On the other hand, South Korean networks reported most South Korean figure scenes in Sunshine frame (18 scenes, 81.9%) while reporting U.S. figure scenes in both Axis of Evil frame (20 scenes) and Sunshine frame (29 scenes).

[Insert Table 4 here]

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to examine whether U.S. and South Korean broadcasting networks used different frames toward North Korea issues in reporting President Bush's visit to South Korea. The results showed that they used obviously different frames: U.S. networks viewed the trip in an Axis of Evil frame (conflict frame) and South Korean networks focused on a Sunshine frame (solution frame) in reporting President Bush's visit to three Asian countries. The result also showed a very significant difference ($p < .01$) in how the U.S. and South Korean networks framed news stories about President Bush's visit. This result supports theories that international news stories are framed to represent home countries' policies.

Among eight sub-frames, U.S. networks mostly emphasized defining North Korea as a rogue state, which belongs to the "problem defining" frame that Entman explained. On the other hand, South Korean networks used the "treatment recommendation" frame by focusing on the importance of peace talks with North Korea.

An interesting discovery was made on framing. By dividing a frame into sub- frames, researchers found that not only were the government's policies framed in network media, but also how those policies were framed. In other words, the perspectives of how two countries view North Korea were also revealed by the research. The Bush administration is in a defining stage of North Korea, whereas South Korea is in a solution solving stage with its Northern partner. The Axis of Evil speech was merely focused on defining the three nations – Iraq, Iran and North Korea – as rogue states rather than providing solutions. The U.S. media reflected the president's speech in their stories by reporting the problem defining sub-frame, which defines North Korea as a rogue state.

On the other hand, President Kim's Sunshine policy, which is seeking a treatment rather than defining a problem, is also reflected in South Korean networks. Most of the Korean networks' stories involved frames in the "treatment recommendation" sub-frame, which represents peace-talk or cooperation. International news not only frame news to match their government's interest, but also frame news according to government's perspectives.

News sources are also an important index of framing. Because government often represents the nation's policies, the president and official sources were used to reinforce frames. This paper hypothesized that the U.S. and South Korean network would use their presidents and officials as prominent figures in their framed scenes. The hypothesis was fully supported statistically. U.S. networks associated U.S. figures in the Axis of Evil frame more than the Sunshine frame. South Korean networks also focused on the Sunshine frame in reporting their dominant figures.

However, one of the interesting findings was that South Korean networks used the Sunshine frame (29 scenes) more than the Axis of Evil frame (20 scenes) even when they dealt with scenes of U.S. figures. The plausible explanation would be in the political and diplomatic contexts surrounding President Bush's visit to South Korea. The main goal of the South Korean government, then, was to convince U.S. officials to acknowledge the Sunshine policy and secure peace in the Korean peninsula. President Bush also didn't want to arouse anti-American feelings among the Korean people. In fact, President Bush said in his speech in a press conference in Seoul, "We are a peaceful people. We have no intention of invading North Korea. South Korea has no intention of attacking North Korea". This remark was repeatedly replayed like a jingle in the South Korean networks.

Some other interesting facts were found while analyzing the news stories. The word "evil" resurfaced again when President Bush was touring the DMZ. President Bush reacted with disgust when he learned that axes used to kill two American soldiers are in a museum across the border in North Korea. "There is a Peace Museum there and the axes that were used to slaughter two U.S. soldiers are in the Peace Museum. No wonder I think they are evil." Bush's sensitive remark was aired by ABC, NBC and FOX networks but was not mentioned in Korean network news. Either Korean reporters did not have access to the president when he made this "evil" speech, or the Korean networks deliberately did not used the clip because this would again ruin the whole meaning of the trip. It is more probable that Korean networks decided not to run the tape.

The other interesting thing was the different wavs U.S. reporters and Korean reporters viewed the Dorasan Station, a newly established railroad station that was built in hope of connecting the North and South. South Korea finished its rail lines up to the demilitarized zone this month, but North Korea has not started construction.

The U.S. network interpreted the Drasan station as a symbol of separation. All four ABC, NBC, CBC and FOX reporters rounded up their stories by walking on the rail that is stopped right in front of the DMZ. This is how ABC reporter Terry Moran finished his story: "It was supposed to be a symbol of the reconciliation between the two countries. Instead, it has come to stand for dashed hopes and bitter betrayal." NBC reporter David Gregory also viewed the Dorasan station as a symbol of division: "This railroad track is the most striking symbol of the division between North and South Korea.... These tracks abruptly end there, at the southern end of the demilitarized zone." Ironically, South Korean news stories viewed the Dorasan station as a sign of hope and unification. When President Bush autographed a railroad, Korean media reported the event as if President Bush were signing a peace treaty with North Korea. A KBS reporter finished his story in front of the station: "This is KBS news reporting at the Dorasan station, the symbol of peace."

Another interesting finding was that South Korea emphasized hope for better inter-Korea relations. On Feb 22, when President Bush had left South Korea and was visiting China, South Korean network news reported on North Korea's reaction to President Bush's Axis of Evil speech. Titles of two consecutive news segments for KBS 9 o'clock News were "North Korea refuses to talk with the U.S." and "Blue light for South-North talk." MBC also predicted that there would be more possibility for North Korea to open talks with South Korea rather than with the U.S. in a news story titled, "No talk with the U.S."

Conclusion

This study examined how the U.S. and South Korean network news coverage framed president Bush's visit to three Asian countries. The U.S. and South

Korea's two different policies towards North Korea were reflected in two countries' frame. The U.S. used the Axis of Evil frame and South Korea used the Sunshine frame in reporting President Bush's visit.

By applying Entman's (1993) four definitions of framing -- problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation -- as sub-frames, this study found out that different "angles" of frame could be measured. The U.S. used a first level problem definition frame while South Korean networks used a treatment recommendation frame, each reflecting the degree of their government's involvement with the issue. Newly elected President Bush and his officials are in the defining stage of North Korean issues, while the South Korea government officials are in the solution solving stage with their long negotiating partner, North Korea. This study will contribute to future framing studies that will try to define how and to what degree different frames were used in international news coverage.

The present study has several limitations. First, the sample size might have been small. Only 22 stories were analyzed from the U.S. network news whereas 57 stories were analyzed from South Korean networks. Second, the authors used a scene as the unit of analysis because cuts were too short to be coded by text-visual analysis and scenes provided a better unit to analyze audio-visual meaning of a news story. But because dividing scenes in a news story involves an in-depth analysis of a news story, inter-coder reliability might be low. Usually a news story is used as the unit of analysis in television news content analysis, but by coding by story unit researchers lose various meanings in the news because one news story usually contains several viewpoints. A better systematic analysis unit for television news should be developed.

<Table1> The sub-frames of U.S. and S. Korean networks

	Axis of Evil frame (U.S.)	Sunshine frame (S. Korea)
Problem defining	Rogue state	Negotiation partner
Causal interpretation	Causing terror	Isolated from world
Moral evaluation	Bring justice	Anti-war
Treatment recommendation	War or sanction	Peace talk

<Table 2> Country-Frame Relationship

	U.S.	S. Korea
Axis of evil	53 (31.7%)	42 (11.4%)
Sun shine	40 (24.0%)	159 (42.9%)
Neutral or none	74 (44.3%)	169 (45.7%)
Total	167 (100%)	370 (100%)

($\chi 2=38.310$, df=2, p<. 01)

<Table 3> Distribution of sub-frames in two country networks

	U.S.	S. Korea
Axis of Evil frame		
Rogue state	25 (26.9%)	16 (8.0%)
Causing terror	8 (8.6%)	11 (5.5%)
Bring justice	11(11.8%)	11 (5.5%)
War or sanction	9 (9.7%)	4 (1.9 %)
Sunshine frame		
Negotiation partner	13 (14.0%)	17 (8.4%)
Isolated from world	2 (2.2%)	14 (7.0%)
Anti-war	14 (15.1%)	44 (21.9%)
Peace talk	11 (11.7%)	84 (41.8%)
Total	93 (100%)	201 (100%)

($\chi2$=25.796, df=7, p<. 01) ($\chi2$=196.652, df=7, p<. 01)

<Table 4> figure-frame relationship

	U.S.		South Korea	
	Bush	Kim	Bush	Kim
Axis of evil	14 (48.3%)	1 (20.0%)	20 (29.0%)	0 (0%)
Sun shine	7 (24.1%)	4 (80.0%)	29 (42.0%)	18 (81.9%)
Neutral	8 (27.6%)	0 (0%)	20 (29.0%)	4 (18.1%)
Total	29 (100%)	5 (100%)	69 (%)	22 (%)

($\chi2$=6.619, df=2, p<. 05) ($\chi2$=12.228, df=2, p<. 01)

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Internship +
Career

PERCEPTIONS OF THE VALUE OF INTERNSHIPS

Journalism Students' Perceptions of the Value of Internships

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Journalism Students' Perceptions of the Value of Internships

"Learning by doing" has long been recognized as an important component of education. In informal modes of instruction, it might be the very essence of the educative process: The apprentice watches and imitates the master. In formal schooling, it has emerged in a variety of forms, including internships, laboratory experimentation, practica, work-study programs, and self-directed research. Experiential education goes beyond textbook instruction; it forces learners to apply textbook lessons to actual situations. Thus, a student pilot personally takes over the controls of an aircraft in an aviation training program. A student teacher explains geography to an actual classroom of fifth graders. A student nurse gives flu shots to people at a public health clinic. By doing, they learn.

In journalism education, learning by doing is generally considered to be an integral part of the basic instruction. A majority of college and university journalism and mass communications programs either require or strongly urge their students to complete internships prior to graduation (Horowitz, 1996). What precisely constitutes an internship varies somewhat from program to program, as do methods of assessment, levels of faculty involvement, number of institutional credit hours assigned, and quality control efforts and expectations. Benefits of journalism and mass communications internships are said to extend to all three of the parties involved in the process: students, institutions, and employers (Hatala, 1979). The students learn valuable skills, the institutions enhance their reputations for training people who can function productively in the workplace, and the employers are provided with a pool of talent from which to draw temporary help or permanent professional staff (Little, 1981).

Much of the discussion of mutual benefits, however, is based on anecdotal evidence. It is not unusual for a student to return from an internship experience and confide to his or her adviser that a period of 10 weeks or six months on the job was more instructive than the entire span of his or her years in college (Moore, 2000). Similarly, faculty members and program administrators are quick to assert that their internship programs are successful in both broadening the knowledge of their students and enhancing institutional prestige. Researchers have ended up on both sides of the question. While at least one researcher has found internships in journalism and mass communication to be a "win-win-win" situation (Mason, 1990), others have cited hidden drawbacks.

Hanson (1984) contended that the benefits of internships accrue not only to students, but also to their employers and their universities. Internships give students "a chance to see what realities await them before they find themselves competing for jobs in areas in which they have little or no practical understanding or experience" (p. 53). Hatala (1979) observed that internships allow students to put theory into practice; permit faculty members to observe students' actual performances and to judge the students' learning by means other than tests and papers; and cast professionals into the role of field supervisors, giving them an opportunity to provide instruction, monitoring, and judgment on the quality of students' work. Mason

(1990) said that for employers, internship programs can offer low-cost labor; for universities, internship programs can provide feedback from both students and employers as to just how well they are teaching career skills. Fulmer (1993) noted that some professionals think that internships are the most crucial aspect of degree programs in communications.

Little (1981) articulated nine distinct ways in which students can benefit from internships. Such experiences give them an opportunity to (1) apply their knowledge of field via first-hand participation, (2) learn new skills specific to their chosen profession, (3) acquire skills and attitudes necessary to function as adults, (4) develop the ability to learn from their mistakes, (5) develop an ethical perspective, (6) sample their career choices, (7) become responsible citizens, (8) gain access to knowledge that can't easily be attained through classroom instruction, and (9) identify problems for further study (p. 13).

But not all communications academicians agree that internships are beneficial in all respects. A few researchers (Peters, 1975; Burns, 1987; Cheslik, 1989) have concluded that there are some very real drawbacks to mass communications internships, and that those drawbacks have been under-reported.

A student who works at a particular media operation is going to learn how things are done at that workplace, but not necessarily how they are done at other workplaces, or how they should be done (Burns, 1987). In fact, the student may learn only a lower-level employee's version of proper procedures and skills. "Most internships provide indoctrination, not a forum for inquiry" (p. 2). Moreover, by sending students to learn in the field, universities "farm out" instruction to people with uncertain qualifications. In the exchange of studio for classroom, concern for excellence may be lost (p. 3).

Peters (1975) said other internship problems include loss of control over the type of work that interns perform, the volume of work that is done, and the relationship of the employer to the student.

Students come away from the period of internship with a diversity of workplace experiences and lessons learned—some expected and some unexpected, some positive and some negative, some contributory to their personal growth and some not.

Internships can provide a means to master new communications skills. They can reinforce students' pre-formed career choices, or push them in entirely new directions. They can introduce students to the realities of workplace problems, pressures, and personalities. They can alter students' life paths or keep them on track. They can stimulate or enervate. As the internship experiences are diverse, so are the attitudes that students form as a result of them.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this qualitative study was to add to the store of knowledge of journalism students' attitudes toward their internships. The study used a method of phenomenological inquiry described below to probe first-person narratives written by students at the conclusion of their internships. The focus of the study was to examine the value that journalism students place on their internships within the overall framework of their college education. The fundamental question of the study was: How do journalism students perceive the value of internships? The study was based on these research questions:

1. To what extent are journalism students' attitudes toward completed internships positive, negative, or neutral?

2. What specific aspects of internships do journalism students perceive most favorably and least favorably?

3. What value do students perceive their internships to have in the context of their journalism coursework?

4. How do students feel about the overall value of internships in light of their internship experiences?

5. How do students feel about careers in journalism in light of their internship experiences?

Significance of the Problem

Internship programs require an expenditure of resources by all parties involved. The institution must allow a faculty member to divert time and energy away from classroom, research, and service duties to become internship director. The student is required to spend a considerable amount of time away from campus and campus-oriented activities, and sometimes must make a financial sacrifice, interning for little or no pay during a period of time, such as the summer, when there is a potential for high off-campus earnings. The employer must be willing to be an educator and at the same time tolerate an entry-level employee who is both inexperienced and, in a relative sense, unskilled.

All three parties have a stake in the success of the venture. The institution is helped in meeting its mission to educate. In addition, its prestige as an educational body may be enhanced among members of the professional community by a student who performs well and demonstrates a high level of knowledge and ability in the internship workplace. The student, through the internship performance, might parlay the internship into a permanent position, or establish professional contacts that will prove valuable throughout his or her career. The employer will not only be helped to meet the company mission by a productive intern, but might develop from interns a pool of potential recruits to permanent positions. If the employer is paying a salary to the intern, it is in the company's best economic interest to have an intern who is contributing in some way to the product.

With the exception of a 1998 phenomenological study focusing on site supervisors and internship coordinators as well as on students (Daugherty, 2000), researchers have done few attitudinal studies of journalism interns. There has been limited activity in journalism internship research of any sort in recent years. Most of the published studies of journalism internships were produced in the 1970s and 1980s. The majority of the more recent published internship studies, those that came out in the late 1990s, address internships in fields other than journalism.

This study was designed to meet a need, as indicated by the dearth of published research, for a scholarly examination of the efficacy of journalism internships from the viewpoint of those who performed such internships; to offer insight in regard to the attitudes of journalism interns; to bring a recent, updated slant to scholarly inquiry into journalism and communications internships; and to provide a foundation for further studies, including both qualitative and quantitative attitudinal research, in experiential education.

Methodology

First-person narratives of the internship experience written by students who participated in the experience comprised the raw data of this study. The researcher explored ways in which he could extract useful data from these written narratives. Being concerned more with ideas than with numbers, he considered and rejected content analysis, a quantitative method, in favor of phenomenology, a qualitative method. A transcendental phenomenological approach to the study of content, according to Moustakas (1994), "involves a return to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions that provide the basics for a reflective structural analysis that portrays the essences of the experience" (p. 13).

The researcher studied reports written by students at a Midwestern public university who completed journalism internships during the five-year period from 1996 through 2000. He arranged in alphabetical order the last names of all the students who wrote internship reports during the five-year period. Every eighth name became a subject, starting with the fourth name on the list, after the researcher used the first three names for a pre-test of the phenomenological model. The researcher studied a total of 28 internship reports.

The instrument was based on the model of transcendental phenomenological inquiry created by Moustakas (1994) as a modification of a method of analysis developed by van Kaam (1959, 1966). Studying each of the chosen reports, the researcher transcribed by complete sentences expressions relevant to the student's attitude toward his or her journalism internship. This constituted the first step of the Moustakas model. The researcher achieved reduction and elimination, the second step, by testing each expression to determine whether it was necessary for understanding the student's attitude toward his or her internship. He clustered and assigned themes to the invariant constituents of each report, accomplishing the third step. He validated his identification of the invariant constituents, the fourth step, by citing words and phrases from each report that were reflective of the intern's feelings, reactions, attitudes, and emotions.

Referring to the relevant, validated themes, the researcher constructed an individual textural description and/or an individual structural description of each student's attitude toward his or her internship, the fifth and sixth steps of the

Moustakas model. He subsequently constructed a textural-structural description of the meanings and essences of the internship experience and its impact on each student, constituting the seventh step of the model. From the individual textural-structural descriptions, the researcher developed a composite description of how journalism students feel about their internship experiences, addressing each of the five research questions.

The researcher addressed the first research question--the extent to which students' attitudes toward their internships are positive, negative, or neutral—by articulating the themes that reflected feelings toward the internship experience as a whole. Expressions that connoted enjoyment, pleasure, pride, confidence, discomfort, angst, anxiety, apprehension, or other emotions were considered relevant.

In regard to the second research question—students' perceptions toward specific aspects of internships—the researcher described what interns liked most and least about their internship duties, assignments, and workplace relationships. He noted commonalities as well as departures from the norm or from the expected. He explored the reasons for the students' revealed perceptions.

The third research question—the value that journalism students place on their internships in the framework of their journalism coursework—was addressed in terms of how and to what extent interns compared their learning through experience with their learning through formal instruction. The researcher focused on references to specific journalism courses as well as references to the journalism curriculum as a whole. He explored the veracity of a frequently expressed lament among journalism educators that students think their internships are more educational than the sum of their coursework.

The fourth research question—how students feel about the overall value of journalism internships in light of their personal internship experiences—was addressed by noting the presence of positive expressions of the overall nature of internship experiences and positive overall assessments of the value of internships. The researcher sought to demonstrate that an experience perceived as positive carries over to an attitude that the experience had value.

The researcher addressed the fifth research question—how students feel about the choice of journalism as a career in light of their journalism experiences—by articulating themes that linked internships described in positive terms with expressions of satisfaction with the career choice. Satisfaction with the career choice implies satisfaction with the choice of journalism as academic major. If a student indicated that he or she planned to enter the area of journalism in which he or she had interned, the researcher concluded that satisfaction with the choice of major was indicated.

Students' Attitudes Toward Internships

Journalism students' attitudes toward their completed internships were found to be overwhelmingly positive. Although students were willing to discuss negative aspects of their experiences, negative points were nearly always counterbalanced by positive points. Even in reports out that might be considered to be negative overall, in that negative comments outweighed or outnumbered positive comments, the students managed to find a few positive things to report.

A student who worked as a reporter for a small daily newspaper wrote: "The news staff was wonderful. From my first day on the job, they were friendly and helpful.... The summer was fun, the editors and staff were great, and I consider myself fortunate to have been able to work for a summer at the [newspaper]." A student who worked as a communications and advertising intern in an electronics manufacturing enterprise described the internship as "a great media experience." A student who interned in the sports department of a daily newspaper called the experience "a sportswriter's dream." A student who worked at a radio station concluded, "I truly believe I was well served in interning at [the station], and I think that it will prove to be a good transition period from college to the workforce."

Interns tended to use neutral expressions in describing their job duties. A student who worked in the public relations section of a nonprofit service organization reported that her first assignment was "kind of a cumbersome task ... but it was a good way to start because it allowed me to familiarize myself with the terminology and writing style." In a subsequent portion of her report she wrote, "I also wrote articles for the regional publications.... I took photos that development would send to the donors so they could see how their gifts were being used. I also did flyers for marketing. I designed an ad for a workshop ... and a brochure." The intern's neutral words and phrases gave no indication about how she felt about her job duties. Toward the end of her report, however, she provided a positive context when she wrote, "My internship experience was great. I got to work on a lot of fun and challenging projects."

Where negative terms showed up, they most frequently were in students' accounts of their first days on the job. A television reporter described herself as "scared" when she arrived at the station for the first time as an intern. "I had dived head-first into the world of news, and many times the life rafts were nowhere in sight. I had to choose to swim or be eaten by sharks," she wrote. "But as time went on, my confidence grew." Other interns wrote of being "nervous," "naïve," "petrified," "left with the option of sinking or swimming," and "running like a chicken with its head cut off." Once they were past the first few days on the job, most students' attitudes turned positive.

A marked exception to the typically positive tone of internship reports was a narrative written by a student who worked as a reporter and photographer for a weekly newspaper. Her supervisor, the owner and publisher of the newspaper, gave her little instruction and left her to seek whatever assistance she needed from other employees. Her job duties included manual page composition—pasting typeset copy to page forms. Her university journalism training had been in computer composition, a process called "pagination." She described manual composition as "the most tedious and mind-boggling, headache-filled job in the whole office." It was "not fun for me. I have never been a fan of layout and when one is expected to do this all on their [sic] own it is very difficult."

The student credited her co-workers with assisting her through the unpleasant parts of her internship. "If it hadn't been for all of them basically holding my hand throughout my entire internship and helping me put the tabs together I think I would have gone crazy," she wrote.

In contrast, a student who interned in a video production studio described her internship as "a pleasant experience that I will never forget." She added, "I enjoyed working with my co-workers and working with the customers and advertisers on the shoots.... I knew it was going to be a challenge, but it also turned out to be a great experience which I strongly enjoyed." Toward the end of the summer she discovered that "I just loved what I was doing."

Another student, who performed a variety of tasks in an advertising agency, expressed the feelings of the majority of journalism interns:

> No matter what I was doing there was always something to learn or somebody to meet. The contacts I made this summer are immeasurable and the friends are unforgettable. Each and every person at [the agency] went out of their [sic] way to help, encourage, and include me. In my application letter I wrote that I felt [the agency] would be both an educational and enjoyable internship, and it proved to be nothing less!

Students' Perceptions of Specific Aspects of Internships

In general, the aspects of the internship experience interns perceived most favorably were those in which they felt they were given a measure of responsibility. Job duties entailing a meaningful contribution to the product or service on the part of the student frequently were described as "fun" or "exciting." The aspects of the experience interns perceived least favorably were those in which they felt their duties were tedious or of little importance.

A student who worked for an advertising agency was assigned to help develop a brochure for one of the firm's clients. She was given full responsibility for coordinating photographs. "I even got to hire the photographers," she reported. Working on the brochure turned out to be "one of my favorite projects."

A student who worked for a weekly newspaper reported that "the best time I had during the summer" was his coverage of a visit to the community by a U. S. congressman and a U. S. senator. He perceived of the visit, as well as his coverage of the visit, to be important to the readers of his newspaper.

A student who worked as a public relations assistant in a state-sponsored recreational/educational facility described her duties leading up to the grand opening of the facility. "I spent several days organizing activity booths, press kits, and news releases" she wrote. "It was very exciting to be helping to plan such an important event."

A student who worked in public relations for a rural cooperative called his coverage of a news conference with the governor of the state an "enjoyable" assignment. "Incidentally," he wrote with more than a hint of pride, "I feel that my . . . story [of the news conference] was more useful and understandable than a similar story which appeared in [a regional daily newspaper]."

The least enjoyable aspects of internships were centered on moments of tedium, such as the "mind-boggling, headache-filled" chore of manual page composition, or meaningless duties. One student, however, was pleasantly surprised to discover that his internship on a daily newspaper did not involve unfulfilling chores. "I was thrilled that the editors did not just give me crappy 'intern' stories," he wrote.

Others found rewards in even lowly tasks. A student who worked for a radio station was assigned to search for certain information in a library, in "rooms and books I never knew existed." He wrote, "All of this research helped me to better use the Internet as well as the resources at the library, preparing me well for the research required when writing a news story." An advertising intern began her job by assisting the firm's receptionist. "I quickly realized that a great deal can be learned by answering phones," she reported.

Perceptions of Internships in the Context of Coursework

Students perceive a high value in both their internships and their coursework. Journalism educators frequently recount ruefully to one another various conversations with students returning from internships in which the students typically are quoted as saying, "I learned more on the job in three months than in classrooms in three years." The researcher was prepared to find evidence of this mode of thinking in the internship reports. This, however, was not the case. While students placed a high value on the learning aspects of their internship duties, they also made frequent references—some directly and some by implication—to the high level of internship preparation afforded by their classroom training.

"This business teaches you efficiency, perceptiveness, and it gives you guts," a television intern wrote. "The foundations of these are learned in class; we are given the materials, and then set free to build our own future." A student who worked in public relations for a nonprofit organization that offered services to disabled people reported, "I felt that my classes ... prepared me with the basic skills I needed for my internship, such as writing, grammar, photography, etc. But, there was a lot of new stuff I learned on the job." An advertising student who worked in marketing for an electronics manufacturing company wrote:

> The classes I have taken ... helped me with a lot of my daily job responsibilities. I would say that the class "Sales, Promotion, and Marketing" probably helped me the most. However, nothing can prepare you for the real world better than an internship.

Some students indicated that their internships required them to use workplace tools or techniques that they had not been introduced to in journalism classes and laboratories. In many of these cases, technology in the workplace had not caught up with technology in the classroom. "When I had to learn to shoot my stories on three-quarter inch video tape, the oldest stuff in the business, I learned a lot about the fundamentals of shooting," a television intern wrote.

Most interns found that their educational background enabled them to function productively on the job almost from the start. "I was hired as a marketing intern and was prepared to put all of my hard-earned knowledge to work," a student wrote. Another said she was "well served by the experience I gained in newswriting and public affairs reporting classes." Another, a student who worked for two affiliated radio stations, said his college courses

> prepared me well for the kind of work I was expected to produce. In many ways I felt my skills in editing and writing were better than many co-workers who had been in the business many years. ... My supervisors at [the stations] were impressed with my training and said several times they welcome future interns from the ... journalism department.

Some things just cannot be learned anywhere but on the job, several interns said. A student who worked as a reporter for a small daily newspaper and who described his internship as an "incredible experience" wrote, "I worked long hours, was challenged by the environment and assignments, participated at all levels and received a knowledge of the newspaper business that could not be taught in the classroom." A student who worked as a reporter for a television station in a medium-sized market was assigned to cover the death of a child in a swimming pool accident. "It is very hard to talk to the police when an accident or death is involved," she wrote. "This is something that can't be learned in class, only by experience." But she added, "I feel confident in the education I received."

For the most part, students placed a high educational value on both their workplace experiences and their formal classroom training. Their reports reflected a feeling that their internships were vital components of their education, and their classes were vital preparation for their internships. None of the reports suggested a belief that either the communications workplace experience or the journalism coursework could stand alone. A combination of both is required for effective training in journalism, the students indicated.

How Students Feel About the Overall Value of Internships

Students in journalism think highly of the whole concept of experiential education as represented by internships. A perception of high value can be drawn from the attitudes of students toward their individual workplaces. A student who worked as a reporter for a daily newspaper wrote:

> I would definitely recommend to future intern-seekers that they apply for an internship at [the company he worked for]—especially if they are looking to get exposed to a variety of stories and have a lot of responsibility. I don't believe I would have learned as much or have gotten the change to prove myself as much at any other paper.

A student who worked as a communications and advertising intern for two electronics manufacturing firms wrote:

> [The] internship was a great media experience. It helped me better understand the business side to marketing. I feel through both internships ... I received an all-around marketing-internship experience. I now understand the

creative industry as well as the business industry within the integrated marketing world.

Interns who took a new or a more highly developed career skill away from the workplace considered the internship experience to be of significant value. A student who worked in the sports department of a daily newspaper wrote, "Covering many different sport events made me more marketable in my career." A student who worked for a radio station wrote, "I found my internship both rewarding and challenging, and I believe it prepared me well for the workforce when my educational days are over." A student who worked in the sales and marketing division of an electronics manufacturing company wrote, "I feel that [the company] offers students a great internship program in which they give their [*sic*] interns a lot of responsibility." Emphasis on marketability and preparation for the workforce indicate that students perceived the experience as valuable.

Another indication of a perception of high value can be drawn from the students' descriptions of what they learned. "I have learned how to better manage my time, how to be more organized, and how to complete a project on a tight deadline," an advertising student reported. "One of the most important skills I learned during my internship was how to deal with clients and sales representatives," another advertising student wrote. A technical writing intern said, "My internship ... was beneficial to my journalism career through its focus in a particular technical area.... My experience with computers this summer was invaluable."

Even students whose internship experiences were more negative than positive in nature found them to have a certain value. A student who worked for a small weekly newspaper found himself, as the intern, performing virtually all of the paper's editorial duties, including reporting and writing local news, shooting photographs, compiling a community calendar, and handling letters to the editor. The myriad of unexpected responsibilities helped him to grow as a professional journalist, he wrote. Another weekly newspaper intern reported that her duties, some of which she found unpleasant, had an educational aspect nonetheless. She wrote:

> I learned many aspects of the job that I was not aware of. Overall I would say that my internship was very

educational. I learned a lot of things that I hadn't [known] before. I also learned what I definitely do not want to do in the newspaper business. The experience that I obtained was definitely priceless.

How Students Feel About Careers in Journalism

Internships confirmed or reinforced many students' intentions to pursue careers in journalism. The prevailing student perception of the journalism internship as a positive experience speaks also to the choice of journalism as life work. Moreover, satisfaction with journalism as major course of study was inferred in expressions of satisfaction with journalism as career choice. If a student indicated that he or she planned to enter the area of journalism in which he or she had interned, the researcher concluded that satisfaction with the choice of journalism as major was indicated.

For a student who interned in the newsroom of a television station, the field experience provided by the internship whetted her appetite for what she envisioned as a career. "I don't know a fourth of what I will learn as a broadcaster," she wrote, "but I have a taste for it, and that is all I need to keep me coming back." A student who worked for a small daily newspaper described his feelings when completing his internship: "I was hooked." A student who worked in broadcasting remarked, "I had lots of fun this summer and hope to continue working in radio and news writing." A public relations intern wrote, "I have no doubt that this experience has helped prepare me for a career after I complete my schooling." A student who worked at a weekly newspaper said the internship "gave me the chance to learn all I could about how a newspaper is created and what I can look forward to when I join the workplace as a journalist."

For some interns, the internship itself segued into a part-time or full-time job. A student who worked in a sales and marketing position wrote, "I have enjoyed working here so much that I have decided to stay on part-time until graduation." A student who worked at a weekly newspaper wrote, "My internship at the [newspaper] was a good experience for me ... even more so since it turned into a full-time editor position." A student who was an assistant in a video production studio wrote:

> Although my internship ended in August . . . I continued to work at [the company] to gain as much experience as

> possible. I felt that [a certain project] helped me tremendously and has given me confidence to edit future stories and projects. I thoroughly enjoyed my internship at [the company] and I know it will help me find a good job in the future.

One student, a television reporting intern, came to identify herself fully with the professional staff at the station she worked for. She wrote:

> We have the best news staff in town, regardless of the fact almost any of us could walk across [the city] and make $4,000 to $6,000 more a year. We do our news better, faster and more accurate [*sic*] than the competition. We simply work harder, and it shows.

A similar expression of identification with the company that employed her was offered by a student who worked in marketing: "The corporate offices are very classy; I was proud to be working for [the company].... My internship in marketing made it clear to me that it is marketing that I enjoy most." Another television intern remarked, "We have a very exciting career.... I found out that reporting is really what I want to do."

In all of the reports studied, no student indicated that the journalism internship had led him or her to decide to not enter journalism as a career. One student, however, wrote that she learned which aspects of the job were not for her. Her internship on a weekly newspaper taught her, she reported, that she did not like manual page composition and she did not like reporting politics. The summer of field work demonstrated to her "what I definitely do not want to do in the newspaper business." The words that she chose to express her feelings seemed to indicate that "the newspaper business" in general remained a viable career option for her, even if certain parts of it did not.

Conclusions

Journalism students' attitudes toward their internships are primarily positive. The broader implication of this finding is that internships, in the minds of students, are worth the time, the effort, and the expense.

The aspects of the internship experience interns perceive most favorably are those in which they feel they are given a measure of responsibility. Aspects they perceive the least favorably are those in which they feel their duties are tedious or of little importance. This indicates that the most rewarding internships are those that balance meaningful assignments with "grunt" work. The assigning of humdrum chores to an intern is an acceptable practice—that is, will leave the student with a favorable attitude toward the internship—as long as it is balanced by the assigning of other jobs that the student considers more important or more contributory to the employer's product or service.

Students perceive a high value in both their internships and their coursework. Neither can offer a complete program of journalism instruction by itself. Field experience and classroom experience need each other. The classroom prepares the student to enter the workplace. The workplace transforms the student from a novice to a professional. Additionally, the workplace prepares the student to re-enter the classroom. Internships put past classroom activities into context, and offer students new perspectives from which to approach their final semesters in college.

Students in journalism think highly of the whole concept of experiential education as represented by internships. This acknowledgement of the academic legitimacy of field experience validates the importance that schools and departments of journalism attach to it. While it might be expected that an enjoyable internship is an educative internship, a seeming anomaly is the fact that even a miserable internship has its lessons to teach. Students have come away from unpleasant work situations with new skills and changed attitudes, willing to admit that a long, tedious summer on the job helped them grow professionally and personally.

Internships affirm or reinforce many students' intentions to make careers in journalism. Conversely, sometimes internships show students they are on the wrong career path. Either way, the time in the field is time well spent in regard to career decisions. The journalism internship is a device through which a student can measure his or her affinity for a communications career. If the internship was fun, the job probably will be fun as well.

In this study, the fundamental question was expressed as: How do journalism students perceive the value of internships? The essential finding of this study is that students perceive their internships as highly valuable in their education and in their development as productive citizens. The essential conclusion stemming therefrom is that the position internships occupy as an integral component of journalism education is a correct and rightful position.

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Portfolios for Television News Careers:
Recommendations from Pennsylvania News Directors

Internship
Career

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Portfolios for Television News Careers: Recommendations from Pennsylvania News Directors

Introduction

It has long been accepted that college graduates in art, photography and other creative fields should compile a portfolio for review by potential employers. Journalists will "clip" their published articles from newspapers and magazines to show editors samples of their work.

Now this practice is becoming more widely accepted and expected in other areas of communications and media. Communication programs are increasingly requiring portfolios as a culminating experience for their students. "As a final assignment, the portfolio is the best means of revealing the students' overall communication skills as well as their competence and experience in their major field" (Killingsworth, 1987 p. 166).

During the 1999 Faculty/Industry Seminar sponsored by the International Radio Television Society, faculty participants were asked to develop and present what each team perceived as an ideal curriculum for a college communications program in the 21st century. While opinions on appropriate courses and requirements diverged, consensus on one issue was consistent, that being the need for college students majoring in communications to compile and present a portfolio in a capstone course. Without exception, each team of faculty included a portfolio or senior project course in their curriculum as a means of assessment for faculty and students. This group of faculty was of the opinion that students should be required to prepare and present a portfolio of their work to a group of faculty or outside reviewers before graduating from a communications program.

Today, portfolios are being incorporated into areas of communications including television, radio, writing, advertising and public relations. The benefits of portfolio development are increasingly being seen by college faculty. Proponents of portfolios contend this process allows a student to display a range of skills and abilities (Noronha, 1993), to show independent thinking, and ultimately places this student ahead of other candidates for the same job. Instructors of writing see the value of portfolio creation as this gives students the opportunity to refine and revise work over time (Dillion, 1997).

However, several questions remain to be answered. What should a student portfolio contain, especially given the diverse nature of today's communications industry? Do employers expect entry-level or even want job seekers to have a portfolio and how much attention is a portfolio given during the hiring process?

This research study attempts to answer those questions and others in the specific communications field of television news. This study begins by looking at one, very specific, area in the vast field of communications. The results that follow include the opinions of news directors at television stations in Pennsylvania. While other areas will need to be explored, each field will likely have specific needs for the contents of a portfolio given the job requirements of the position.

Before beginning the discussion of the results of this study, it is important for the reader to understand the concept of portfolio development and the uses of portfolios and supplementary materials in the job search process.

Background

A portfolio is a systematic display of empirical evidence of skills. Portfolios have been historically used by artists, designers, architects, photographers and others as concept to display samples of their work to contract with employers for more projects (Bostaph, 2000). The employment or professional portfolio in others fields is designed to facilitate the job search. An employment portfolio is a collection of materials that a student collects to demonstrate skills to a prospective employer (Aitken, 1994). Job seekers showcase their job readiness and provide concrete examples of how their skills are applicable to the job they are seeking.

Through the process of assembling the portfolio, the job candidate must consider a number of issues. Choices involve everything from the number of work samples presented to the format in which they present the portfolio. Electronic submissions are becoming increasingly popular but the job candidate must determine the compatibility of the particular formats and electronic presentations they use and what may be accessible to the employer.

Whatever format is used or however many work samples are included, the portfolio has one purpose; to provide proof to the employer of the candidates abilities (Williams, 2001). Merely having a degree is no longer enough. Employers want to see concrete proof of a candidate's accomplishments and skills. The portfolio provides this proof. "A portfolio is a collection of your best work…presented to support claims of professional expertise, your portfolio is a testament of your achievements and experience" (Harris, 2001, p 207).

Candidates who are thoughtful and decisive about the contents of the portfolio can use it to demonstrate the specific skills needed by the employer. Including work samples that correspondent to the duties listed in a "help wanted" ad, is a clear demonstration of how a candidate can meet the employer's needs. "When students design portfolios, employers' needs should be the primary driver of the portfolio content. Students should plan their portfolios to demonstrate the link between their strengths and the job's specifications" (Powell, 1998 p. 73).

Jobseekers must exercise good judgment in the selection process. First the portfolio must get attention, then it must hold attention long enough to maintain the interest of the reader (Barry, 1990). However, the quality of the work is the highest priority.

In some areas of communications, audition tapes or resume tapes are a common addition to a portfolio. Anyone seeking work as on-air talent in radio or television is likely to need such a tape. The length and content of resume tapes is also open for a variety of interpretations. The web site News Blues recommends the tape be kept short and only items that pertain specifically to the job for which an individual is applying be included (newsblues.com, 2001). Applicants must use the tape to grab the viewer's attention in the first few seconds. Anything beyond that really doesn't matter. Don Fitzpatrick, author and manager of the web site ShopTalk, agrees that brevity is the key word (tvspy.com, 2001). Fitzpatrick also recommends leading the resume tape with the very best work, recognizing that if the viewer doesn't like the beginning of the tape, the rest won't even be viewed. His rule of thumb is the "30-second rule." "Regardless of how long it is [the tape], it is a rule and it's named after the amount of time you have to sell yourself to the news director...before your tape is ejected from his/her machine" (tvspy.com, 2001). "It's really important to make a good impression. Be sure not to bore the person watching those tapes" (Farris, 1995 p. 171).

The contents of an audition tape should be focused on the job for which the candidate is applying. "If the job listed is for anchor/reporter, be sure to put both on" (Farris, 1995, p. 171).

Employers are increasingly recognizing the usefulness of portfolios. Some employers believe portfolios more accurately measure a student's achievement than standardized tests and relate more directly to workplace skills than grades and courses taken (Powell, 1998). Employers who read an applicant's portfolio before an interview believe that the interview is more effective and that the applicant is more confident in the interview (Powell, 1998). Part of that confidence also comes with the applicant's ability to be comfortable with the portfolio. Williams (2001) recommends that the portfolio should be taken for a "test drive" with friends, professors or family before it is taken into an initial interview. Candidates should be able to explain each piece of work and be able to answer questions about why and how it was developed.

Portfolios are becoming an essential part of the interview process (Smith, 2001). While, it's a tool to show employers what the candidate can do, candidates can use their portfolio to help control the job interview process. Williams (2001) suggests that the portfolio should be introduced at the earliest opportunity or when the employer shows signs of interest. However, the presentation of the portfolio should be done as naturally as possible. "Resist the urge to put it on the interviewer's desk right after the handshake" (Smith, 2001). However, employers may not always ask to see the portfolio. If no opportunity presents itself, candidates must be prepared to show it before they leave the interview.

Students in the communications fields now have to consider how develop and present a portfolio and how this tool can enhance their chances of getting a job. "...although it is not uncommon to find that many students from other disciplines may not have one at all. Nevertheless, it is incumbent on you to have a well-organized portfolio. A well-organized portfolio reinforces your credibility" (Magnasco, 1997, p. 106).

Methodology

Twenty-two television news directors in Pennsylvania were surveyed for this research. This number represents every television station in the state that is currently producing a nightly, local news program. The surveys were initially sent by email or fax with follow-up phone calls, as needed. Eleven news directors responded to the survey and those responses are included in the results section of this paper. The stations represented here range in size from the major metropolitan areas of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, to mid-sized cities of Harrisburg and Johnstown/Altoona to smaller cities of Erie and Allentown. Media market sizes range from number 4 to number 143.

These news directors also represent a broad range of job experience. Years in the television newsroom ranged from three years to 25 years, with the average number of years being 11.4. The size of the station staff ranged from 22 to over 200, with the average number of station employees being 61.8.

Research Questions

The survey asked for opinions on the importance and contents of portfolios for individuals seeking entry-level employment in television newsrooms. Some of the questions included:

1. Do you expect job seekers who are interviewing for an entry-level position to have an assembled portfolio?
2. If interviewees have a portfolio how much time will you spend looking at it and how much influence will it have on your hiring decisions?
3. What would you expect to see in a portfolio, including the number of writing samples and the length of an audition tape?

Results

The initial question to answer was whether or not these news directors expected or wanted to see a portfolio from an entry-level job seeker. Eight of the 11 respondents said yes. Additional comments from the respondents included statements such as "I will not consider anyone without a portfolio." Six of those eight news directors considered the portfolio to be very important and two considered it to be somewhat important.

When asked whether a portfolio would influence their hiring decisions, six news directors indicated they would be more likely to hire a candidate with a portfolio, one indicated they would not hire a candidate who did not have a portfolio and four indicated they were no more or less likely to hire an individual with a portfolio than one without. One person commented that an applicant would only be considered with a portfolio.

When asked to describe the qualities associated with individuals who present a portfolio, eight news directors selected the adjective "prepared," seven selected "organized," and five selected "ambitious." Two news directors added comments that having a portfolio was "typical" or "average."

Since the interview process can be intimidating for new job seekers, these news directors were asked how and when the portfolio should be presented during the course of the interview. Eight of the nine news directors point out that the candidate should present it without being asked by the interviewer. Two respondents indicated the candidate should only present it when asked. According to one news director "I usually ask, but if I fail to ask, the applicant should offer the portfolio at the conclusion of the interview." Six of the news directors indicated the portfolio should be presented at the beginning of the interview. One person indicated no preference and three indicated it should be presented during the course of the interview. Two additional comments indicated that the portfolio should be sent prior to the interview.

The amount of time a news director will spend looking at a portfolio is fairly brief. Four news directors state they will look at the portfolio less than five minutes and six indicate they will spend five to 10 minutes. One respondent replied that if the contents are not good, the portfolio will get less than a minute of viewing time. None of the respondents indicated they would spend more than 10 minutes reviewing the contents of a portfolio.

Chart A (N=11)
Time News Directors Will Spend Reviewing Portfolios and Audition Tapes

	Portfolio	Audition Tape
More than 10 minutes	0	0
5-10 minutes	6	3
Less than five minutes	4	6
Will not look at it	0	0
Other	1	2

Audition tapes are commonly included in the portfolio of individuals seeking on-air positions at television stations. The amount of time these news directors will spend looking at audition tapes is similar to the time spent looking at portfolios. Six respondents indicate they will spend less than five minutes looking at a tape. Three indicate they will spend five to seven minutes. Two news directors replied they would look at the whole tape if it is good but if it is not good it would get less than 30 seconds of viewing time or would be ejected immediately.

After the review of the portfolio and audition tape, news directors are mixed on their obligation to see that the portfolio is returned to the candidate. Only one respondent indicated that the portfolio would be returned. Five indicated the portfolio would be returned but only if a self-addressed, stamped envelope was provided. Five indicated they would not return the portfolio.

The news directors surveyed were consistent in their expectations for the contents of portfolios and audition tapes. All eleven indicated broadcast news writing samples were required elements in the portfolio. The maximum number of writing samples preferred in this area was eight with three to six samples being the most preferred number. Other types of writing samples, such as print news stories, news releases and creative writing samples were optional for all but one news director. However, six news directors indicated they did not want to see news releases or commercials.

Chart B – (N=11)
Portfolio Contents

	Required	Optional	Not Desired	Number of Samples
Broadcast News Stories	11			3-8

Print News Stories	1	8	2	1-4
News Releases		5	6	2
Commercials/PSAs		4	7	
Other Writing Samples		2		
Audition Tape	8	2		

The desire of these news directors to view audition tapes for positions in the newsroom was also consistent. Eight indicated an audition tape is required and three indicated it was optional. The preferred length was five to ten minutes long, with none indicating the tape should be longer than ten minutes. As for the contents of the audition tape eight indicated on-air news reports should be included, seven also wanted to see a montage of stories or news anchoring, and six wanted to see news anchoring segments.

Table C - Audition Tape Contents

N=9

Contents	News Directors' Preference
DJ/Announcing	2
News Anchoring	7
Montage of stories	7
On-air news reports	9
Sample productions	4

All eleven news directors agree that a resume is a required part of a portfolio. Other items in the portfolio might include evidence of extra-curricular activities or community service and letters of but these items were only considered required by two respondents and optional by all others.

When asked about the types of extra-curricular activities these news directors considered important for the candidates, activities that directly relate to broadcasting and journalism received the highest ranking from these news directors. Leadership or membership in the campus radio and television stations was highly regarded by seven of the news directors. Leadership or membership at the campus newspaper was highly regarded by two respondents. Additional comments to this area about student activities mentioned the importance of internships, specifically at commercial television stations.

Finally, the news directors were asked whether or not the development of a portfolio should be a required part of the curriculum for students pursuing careers in television news. Six indicated it should. Four indicated it should not. One respondent indicated it should not be required but "it would clearly be the a student's advantage."

Conclusions

While the sample for this research is small, these news directors represent a cross section of market sizes and station sizes. Their experience in television news and positions of hiring range from as recent as three years to as long as 20 years. The consistency of their responses also permits the results of this survey to be generalized to a larger population.

What is learned from this study is that portfolios are indeed important to students seeking careers in television news. In some cases, the portfolio is an essential part of the job seeking and interviewing process. While some of the news directors did not consider a portfolio to be required in their field, none indicated that having a portfolio was a negative. In fact two news directors, who responded that a portfolio was not required, indicated that a portfolio course should be a part of a communications curriculum.

Portfolio development for students in communications and specifically for those interested in television news is not merely an academic exercise but a process that allows for reflection, refinement and synthesis. This process can help students to refine career goals and use their academic experience to transfer into the working world.

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In Search of a Forest, Not Just the Trees:

Online Journalism Scholarship at the 10-Year Mark

Running title: Online Journalism

Submitted for consideration to:
The Communication Review
June 2002

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ABSTRACT

In Search of a Forest, Not Just the Trees: Online Journalism Scholarship at the 10-Year Mark

The first decade of research about online journalism is marked by an emphasis on audience studies; a preponderance of methods borrowed from the study of traditional media forms, particularly in the leading scholarly journals; and an eclectic mix of conceptual approaches. Using a qualitative meta-analysis of research published in more than 40 journals, this study considers the past and suggests a potentially productive future for the study of journalism in this new medium.

KEYWORDS:

Internet, journalism, online, research, scholarship

In Search of a Forest, Not Just the Trees: Online Journalism Scholarship at the 10-Year Mark

Online news has become an integral part of the information mix for millions of Americans, and its production an integral part of the work routine for thousands of American journalists. By early 2002, more than 112 million U.S. users were logged on to the Internet, and more than half of them -- 56.7 million -- had accessed at least one general news site. Sites affiliated with major media outlets, such as msnbc.com, attract as many as 20 million unique visitors a month ("Olympics," 2002). Yet as little as a decade ago, the Internet was a specialized and rather cumbersome file-sharing service used almost exclusively by scientists and other researchers, and the World Wide Web did not exist at all. It was not until the early 1990s that a few newspapers began signing up with proprietary commercial services, and not until 1993 that a handful appeared in the networked environment of the Internet (Pavlik, 1998).

Scholarly exploration of this new form of journalism followed, slowly at first, then in increasing volume as researchers began to express interest in the medium itself as well as its uses and users (Wimmer & Dominick, 1999). Now, roughly 10 years into the existence of an "online journalism" worthy of study, articles on the topic appear regularly in traditional communication publications such as *Journal of Communication* and *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, as well as in new ones such as *New Media and Society* established specifically to attract research about the Internet.

But what, exactly, are we studying and, more important, what are we learning? Are we primarily grafting old mass communication ideas onto a new media form, or are we adapting and extending our conceptual frameworks to accommodate the attributes of our interactive, fluid and supremely malleable topic? This paper, based on a qualitative meta-analysis of published research, looks at the nature of scholarship to date about online journalism, providing a sense of its direction so far and its future potential.

ONLINE JOURNALISM IN CONTEXT

"Online journalism" is a broad term not easily defined, but one useful approach is to consider characteristics that differentiate it from traditional mass media journalism. For starters, the Internet has a unique sensory appeal that stems from the convergence of multiple formats on a small screen (Newhagen & Rafaeli, 1996). Although journalists producing Web pages are partially responsible for creating this appeal, the audience also has a crucial role. Users control the nature of an online news site by determining how the content is accessed, navigated and thus understood.

While the stories may have been "shoveled" online from a traditional media counterpart, a new reading structure based on hyperlinks and multimedia components makes online news inherently non-linear. Media sites publish continuously updated stories supplemented with links to archived items, information databases, audio and video files, and related Web sites, resulting in a massive interconnected network of choices for news readers. This "hypermedia" format implies interaction between reader and content; a rich variety of information is available, contingent on earlier choices made in using the site (Fredin & David, 1998). Non-linear storytelling has the potential to result in "a more flexible and profound understanding of issues than many people are currently able to get as a practical matter from existing media" (Fredin, 1997, p. 39).

Interactivity not only allows users to "feed on and respond to the past" through the stories themselves (Massey & Levy, 1999) but it also connects them both with other users and with journalists. Such active audience members are able to easily shape themselves into communities of interest rather than the social units based mainly on physical location that constitute the audiences of traditional mass media. Online journalism audiences can break the bonds of geography in order to obtain information from and share interests with sources all over the globe (Hall, 2001).

However, building avenues for interactivity into the news consumes time and resources (Young, 2000), and many journalism sites deliver something closer to the one-way information found in a newspaper or on television (Morris & Ogan, 1996; Roscoe, 1999). Who produces the content and how they do so are important, and a definition of online journalism needs to consider occupational and organizational components. Building sites that encourage dialogue requires such organizational tasks as providing information of value to a wide variety of readers; encouraging return visits by continuously updating content; and making it easy to find the breadth and depth of information available (Kent & Taylor, 1998). These tasks are complicated by the fact that the medium demands dexterity with multiple formats. Moreover, the audience, the traditional consumer, often is just as legitimate a content provider as the journalist, the traditional producer. Online journalists not only must deal with a new means of news delivery but with a fundamental shift in their role in the communication process.

Technological change has more subtle implications for the journalist, as well. For example, half a century ago, Breed (1955) showed how journalists assimilate norms not only from personal and professional contacts, but also from other influential sources, particularly more prestigious journalists. With the Internet, journalists have every major news organization on the planet at their fingertips, which may affect their own work (Singer, 1998). At the same time, economic pressures on online news providers to turn a profit are putting stress on ethical boundaries between "church and state," that is, editorial and commercial activities. Observers inside and outside the media express concern that at least some online news sites are seamlessly integrating content that generates revenue from advertisers and marketers with content ostensibly intended to fulfill the professional obligation to public service (McChesney, 1999).

RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

After several costly and all-too-well-publicized failures with "videotex" in the early and mid-1980s, the traditional media abandoned the idea of computer-delivered information for a number of years. But in the early 1990s, motivated largely by a fear of being left behind as the use of personal computers rose, a handful of publishers began testing the waters again. They cautiously signed limited deals with proprietary services such as Prodigy and the then-fledgling America Online (Fidler, 1997), venturing onto the Internet by 1993 (Pavlik, 1998). Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, Tim Berners-Lee was developing and refining his idea of hypertext (Wright, 1997); a graphic interface to the Internet was being born in a university computer lab in Illinois; and in 1994, a commercial version of that idea, a graphical Web browser dubbed Netscape, debuted.

Once they built it, the media came -- in droves. From about 20 "online newspapers" in 1993, the numbers climbed steadily and, once a critical mass of U.S. Internet users was reached, quickly. By 2002, virtually every U.S. newspaper of any size was online, along with approximately 2,600 U.S. magazines, 1,600 U.S. radio stations, 1,100 U.S. TV stations and networks -- and many thousands more media outlets from every corner of the globe (Online Media Directory, 2002).

Of course, defining online journalism in this way is inherently limiting: The medium potentially frees journalism from ties to a media organization. Even if the Matt Drudges of the online world are set aside as gossips rather than journalists, and newsgroups as communities of interested aficionados rather than relatively independent observers and analysts, plenty of other types of sites are available to study. Web logs ("blogs"), alternative voices such as those offered by indymedia.org (Pavis, 2002), even online-only publications such as salon.com or slate.com constitute what could be classified as online journalism. Indeed, the question of "who is a journalist" becomes difficult to answer in the hypermediated world of the early 21st century, when freedom of the press is rapidly becoming co-extensive with freedom of speech (Godwin, 1999). The existence of novel journalistic forms in cyberspace is undeniable -- and given all its permutations, configurations and conundrums, undeniably intriguing as a topic of study.

But published scholarship on these alternative and emerging forms of journalism is extremely rare, at least in the mainstream communication journals considered here.

(The present research identified a grand total of two studies, both about groups outside the United States; see Smyth, 1997, and Russell, 2001.) As scholars, we are primarily defining the field in traditional terms by examining, almost exclusively, the artifacts of traditional publishers and broadcasters, as well as audiences for those artifacts. Researchers have examined the online products of traditional print (see Endres & Caplan, 1997; Boczkowski, 1999; Dibean & Garrison, 2001; Singer, 2001) and broadcast media (see Patrick, Black & Whalen, 1996; Kiernan & Levy, 1999; Chan-Olmsted & Park, 2000). They have looked at the users of those products (see Johnson & Kaye, 1998 and 2000; Sundar, 1998, 1999 and 2000; Ferguson & Perse, 2000), as well as the traditional supporting industries of advertising (see Sundar et al., 1998; Li & Bukovac, 1999; Benoit, 2000) and public relations (see Esrock & Leichty, 1998 and 1999; McKeown & Plowman, 1999; Hill & White, 2000; Porter et al., 2001).

To do so, they have applied a range of theoretical approaches, from the obvious, such as uses and gratifications (see Mings, 1997; Perse & Ferguson, 2000; Flanagin & Metzger, 2001) to the less-obvious, such as a social engineering perspective (Frau-Meigs, 2000) or a disability studies one (Rogers, 1998). A number of studies have been based on a content analysis of online sites (see Waisbord, 1997; Li, 1998). Other approaches have ranged from controlled experiments (see Tewksbury & Althaus, 2000; Eveland & Dunwoody, 2001; Sundar & Nass, 2001) to application of a critical perspective, including examinations of the reciprocal relationship between technology and society as a historical dynamic (Carey, 1998) and the postmodern nature of an online newspaper (Thiel, 1998). Online journalism ethics, approached both through quantitative means such as surveys (Arant & Anderson, 2001) and qualitative means such as case studies (McCoy, 2001), also have received scholarly attention

Indeed, although the major journals were initially somewhat slow to provide an outlet for scholarship in the area of online communications (Tomasello, 2001), the overall volume has become substantial, particularly in the 2000s. It is time to step back and assess what a decade of work adds up to. Of particular interest here is the subset of computer-mediated communications that can be described as "online journalism" -- that is, as relating specifically to journalistic products, producers and audiences. Questions arise as to how we are approaching the topic of online journalism. If we are engaging primarily in "compare and contrast" exercises that rely on traditional definitions and perceptions of existing media forms, we as researchers may still be in the process of tagging trees -- of naming, one by one, the individual components of our topic. Doing so makes it difficult to see what the larger forest looks like and whether the new mediated landscape has grown into something quite different from the old one.

To assess these issues, the current study poses the following research questions:

RQ1: What aspects of online journalism have attracted the most scholarly attention?

RQ2: What conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches have been applied to online journalism studies?

RQ3: What new approaches suited to the attributes of this medium might be developed to help us understand new forms of journalism within it?

METHODOLOGY

This study is constructed as a qualitative meta-analysis, with simple frequency calculations included in order to make important patterns more visible. Meta-analyses that combine the efforts of multiple researchers generally are used in quantitative approaches. The goal is to produce an integrative review from which generalizable patterns can be discerned (Neuman, 1991). The purpose here is different, and so is the method. The goal is not to come up with generalizable data but rather to survey published research to date in a particular area -- online journalism -- in an effort to identify common approaches and themes. As such, this study more closely resembles the overviews in Sage's *Handbook of Communication Science* (Berger & Chaffee, 1987), notably the survey of literature on professional mass communicators undertaken by Ettema, Whitney & Wackman (1987). The method consists of seeking broad themes within a growing but still relatively compact body of academic work.

A database of academic journals defining a viable universe of communication scholarship was used to derive a population suitable for study. The ComAbstracts database, provided through the Communication Institute for Online Scholarship (CIOS), was selected for this purpose. ComAbstracts indexes 54 key publications in a variety of communication fields, including mass communication. Its staff keeps the database updated in a timely matter and appears proactive in adding new journals as they become available. Other advantages include its exclusive focus on communication journals and comprehensive keyword search capabilities.

ComAbstracts is not perfect. For one thing, it is not all-inclusive. Among the missing journals are both online publications such as the *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* (a rival to the *Electronic Journal of Communication*, a CIOS-affiliated journal that is on the list) and print publications such as *Newspaper Research Journal*, although journals with much smaller circulations are included. Nor does it include every item in the journals it does offer; for example, book reviews are not part of the database, nor are published symposia. Some relevant items are simply missing (for instance, Fredin, 1997). Nonetheless, given the purpose of developing a population for study that was broad enough to encompass a range of approaches and narrow enough to focus exclusively on communication scholarship, ComAbstracts served nicely.

To identify appropriate articles, a search of ComAbstracts was conducted in February 2002 on each of four terms: Internet, Web, online and cyberspace. The goal was not to identify every published article related to online communication; doing so would require including a lengthy list of additional keywords in an attempt to obtain something close to a census. Nor was it to generate a statistically valid random sample leading to generalizable results. Rather, it was to accumulate a set of articles that would be comprehensive enough to provide a sense of the work being done in the field.

This process yielded 382 unique articles from 44 journals. However, 23 articles from *Media Studies Journal* were deleted because *MSJ*, a non-refereed publication, primarily prints essays and opinion pieces rather than academic research. Twenty-six more articles were deleted because they were not about online communication after all. Of these, 15, including all of those originally identified from *Argumentation and*

Advocacy and *Discourse Processes*, were discarded because the word "on-line" has a meaning for researchers who study cognitive processing unrelated to anything to do with the Internet. Another five came up in the search because of the word "web," which turned out to refer not the World Wide Web but to such things as a "web of context" or a "web of reasons." Four others were editorial introductions to special journal issues rather than academic articles, and two pre-dated the time frame of this study, which covers the 1990s, 2000 and 2001. These deletions yielded a final count of 333 published articles related in some way to online communication, published in 41 different refereed journals between 1990 and 2001. Table 1 lists the journals included in this study.

Abstracts for each of these 333 articles, available in the ComAbstracts database, were used as the unit of analysis. After identifying each article by author, keywords in the title, journal and year of publication, the abstracts were categorized as either related or unrelated to journalism and/or the news media or audience. The general field or topic for those unrelated to journalism was noted; examples included higher education, interpersonal communication and popular culture. The abstracts of articles related to journalism were then examined in more detail in an effort to determine:

* The aspect or aspects of journalism studied, including audience, content, journalists or content producers, the medium itself, and/or media owners. Articles about public relations and advertising also were included because of their status as forms of mass communication directly supportive of journalism in this country. All appropriate aspects were noted. For instance, one article might focus on both audience and content; another might incorporate ideas about journalists and media owners.

* The theoretical or conceptual approach used in the research, if discernible from the abstract. Approaches were broadly contextualized. They included specific theories, such as diffusion of innovations; conceptual frameworks, such as cultural studies; and topic areas, such as political communication.

* The method used in the research, if discernible from the abstract.

After the lead author categorized all the abstracts according to these criteria, an intercoder reliability test was performed. Such a test is not mandatory in research based on qualitative interpretation, but it was performed here to validate the more quantitative components of the study. A second coder was trained and given the abstracts from *Convergence* and *New Media and Society*; the 48 abstracts in these two journals represented just under 15 percent of the total number in the study. In classifying articles as related to online journalism or not, the coders were in agreement on 39 of 48 abstracts (81.3 percent). However, the disagreements were all in the same direction: the lead author had a broader definition of "online journalism" in mind and identified nine articles as being on topic that the second coder did not. This level of intercoder reliability was considered acceptable, given that this procedure involved a considerable amount of interpretation (Wimmer & Dominick, 1999), largely because of imprecision in examining only an abstract. In addition, the goal was to understand the general nature of published scholarship rather than to obtain generalizable results.

Among the eight articles in this sample that both coders identified as being about online journalism, they were in agreement about the primary topic (audience, content, etc.) on all; in agreement about both the presence and the nature of the theoretical or conceptual component on all; and in agreement about the method used on six (75 percent). The lead author identified "case study" as the method on the other two articles, a rather generic category; the second coder was more specific, identifying one as involving discourse analysis and the other as using interviews.

Abstracts, of course, are of varying quality and precision in describing the associated article. To extract richer data from the flagship publication in the field of journalism scholarship, full-length articles from *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* identified in the database search were examined. As might be expected, *J&MCQ* had a high percentage of articles focusing on online journalism per se. Of a total 34 articles published between 1990 and 2001 relating to online communication, 28 (82.4 percent) were concerned with some aspect of online journalism, advertising or public relations. These articles were read in their entirety, with particular attention to theoretical and methodological approaches. This information was recorded separately.

FINDINGS

Among the 41 communication journals included here, roughly 37 percent of the Internet-related articles (123 of 333) published since 1990 considered some aspect of online journalism. Twenty-six of them considered journalism only peripherally -- discussing media audiences in general terms, for instance, or focusing on issues such as copyright law -- but their applicability to a broad understanding of the field still seemed clear to the authors.

Predictably, the volume has grown along with the numbers of online users and media outlets. From 1990 through 1996, a total of 33 articles on online communication appeared in the journals considered here, of which nine were about online journalism in particular. More articles appeared in 1997 than in the previous seven years combined: 35 in that year, 12 of them about online journalism. The counts were 70 and 31 in 1998; 60 and 15 in 1999; and 67 and 27 in 2000. In 2001, the latest publication year available in the ComAbstracts database at the time of this study in early 2002, 68 articles about online communication appeared in the included journals, of which 29 related to online journalism. Although these figures represent more journals than in Tomasello's (2001) study, the pattern is similar: a general increase in the number of publications related to online communication, with slight variations among individual years.

The number of articles exploring the topic of online journalism is especially noteworthy given that the database includes journals that are unlikely to publish such articles at all, such as the *Journal of Family Communication* and *Media Psychology*, and does not include others that do, such as the *Newspaper Research Journal*. (Just in the past four years, for instance, *NRJ* has published nearly 20 articles relating to online newspapers, their audiences and the people who work for them.)

Among the 210 non-journalism articles, the range of subjects was very broad. It is not the purpose of the current study to delve into non-journalistic aspects of online communication that have attracted scholarly attention in the past decade. However, it is worth quickly noting that communication researchers have explored everything from the formation, function and operation of community, to the impact of the Internet on democratic theory, to issues of gender and inclusiveness, and much more. Many innovative approaches are suggested even by a cursory glance at abstracts, hinting at a multi-faceted interdisciplinary view of computer-mediated communication.

Findings: Journalism aspects

The main focus of this study, though, was scholarship in the area of online journalism, and the first component considered was the aspect or aspects included in the research. Again, multiple aspects were possible in any single study; in fact, a majority of online journalism studies covered a combination of aspects, such as audience plus content issues. The goal here is to assess scholarly work in the field rather than conduct a formal content analysis, so issues of category uniqueness are not significant..

As Table 2 indicates, studies in some way relating to the online audience were the most common. Seventy of the 123 articles about online journalism considered audience issues, either alone (22 articles) or in combination with some other aspect of online journalism. Forty-five articles dealt with online journalistic content; 42 with journalists or other content producers; and 35 with the online medium itself as a factor in the nature of the journalistic communication it carried. Owners or publishers of online media outlets were dealt with in 15 articles, while 12 considered the journalism support industries of advertising or public relations.

The more in-depth consideration of full-length articles in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (which also are included in the totals above) followed the same general pattern. Of the 28 *J&MCQ* articles related to online journalism, 16 considered the audience, either alone (three articles) or in combination with another facet of the topic. Another 14 studies dealt with online content, alone (two articles) or in combination. Six articles dealt with online journalists, of which half considered them in isolation. Six more considered medium-related issues, one considered ownership issues; two considered PR (by itself) and another two advertising (both in combination with a consideration of the audience). Again, categories overlap.

Therefore, the answer to RQ1 -- what aspects of online journalism have attracted the most scholarly attention? -- is, primarily, the online audience, with a considerable amount of attention also being paid to content and content producers.

Two things are noteworthy in these data. One is that the audience continues to be the most common focus of scholarly attention, as Singer (1998) noted several years ago. This study does not explore the reasons behind the numbers, but possible explanations include the continuing influence of the long-standing "media effects" tradition in mass communication research, as well as the ease of conducting user surveys -- especially given the ready supply of Internet users on every college campus.

A second item of note is the proportion of studies related to traditional producers of media messages -- journalists and PR practitioners -- that consider them in isolation rather than in combination with other topics. Of the 42 studies dealing with online journalists, 15 (35.7 percent) considered only the journalists and no other issues, at least as far as could be determined from the abstracts studied here. And while only five studies dealt with public relations practitioners, all but one looked at those professionals in isolation. (The topic of the fifth study was integrated marketing communication, so it included advertising professionals.) Thus, despite the inherently interactive nature of the online medium, in which the roles of traditional "senders" and "receivers" of media messages are interchangeable and the content is shaped by both, these data suggest many researchers view the traditional "senders" as a separate entity for study.

Findings: Research methods

Conceptual, theoretical and (to a lesser extent) methodological approaches to the study of online journalism varied widely. In the more well-established publications, a majority of studies applied tried-and-true methods to the new medium. The five publications included by Tomasello (2001) in her study of online research in leading communication journals -- *Communication Research, Human Communication Research, Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, Journal of Communication* and *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* -- illustrate this point. Altogether, the five published a total of 41 articles about online journalism identified in this study. Of those, 15 were based on surveys, 11 involved some form of content analysis and nine were experiments or "quasi-experiments." (One *J&MCQ* study used all three methods.)

Focusing more closely on *J&MCQ* revealed that of 28 online journalism articles published over the past decade, 24 were driven by primary quantitative data. Three of the others were short essays, offering a historical and/or cultural approach to the study of the Internet for a 1998 themed issue on "The Future of the Internet," and one traced the history of the Electronic Freedom of Information Act. The three research methods cited above accounted for all 24 of the studies based on primary data: surveys (11 articles), content analyses (eight articles) and experiments (seven articles, including three by the same lead author.) Again, one study used all three methods.

Among published research in the other journals included here, the same methods were common, although there was greater variation. A case study method was used in 11 articles (including one in the *Journal of Communication*), and discourse or textual analysis in another five (again including a *JoC* article). It should be noted that many of the 123 abstracts included in the online journalism grouping did not describe or even hint at a method; the method for 36 studies (29.3 percent) was classified as "unclear" because it could not be determined from the abstract.

Findings: Theoretical or conceptual approaches

Articles in the leading journals exhibited more diversity in their conceptual or theoretical approaches than they did in their methods. Among their 41 relevant articles, cognition and related psychological processes provided the context for six articles (primarily, though not exclusively, from the same lead author), political communication and/or democratic theory for another six, uses and gratifications theory for three, and gate-keeping theory for a couple. After that (and aside from the historical essays mentioned above), a wide range of approaches were used, from traditional mass communication theories such as diffusion of innovations to exploratory works dealing with everything from interactivity to media literacy. Seven articles were classified as "descriptive," meaning the abstract gave no indication of any conceptual or theoretical framework at all. Such articles typically involved describing the contents of a Web site or attributes of an online audience. Again, abstracts are an imperfect unit of analysis; some are explicit about the nature of the associated study and some are not. However, the great majority of abstracts did indicate some conceptual framework -- loosely defined here as relating either to a specific theory or to an intellectual concept -- so it seems safe to say that among those that did not, at least some simply lacked one.

Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly epitomizes this pattern, offering five of the cognition studies, four involving democratic theory, both of the gate-keeping studies, and six of the studies categorized -- even after reading the entire article -- as descriptive. Most of the *J&MCQ* articles could be classified as "compare and contrast" studies that examined both "traditional" and "new" media. Of the 28 studies dealing in some way with online journalism, 16 looked at it in relation to print and/or broadcast forms, while another seven looked at the online products of traditional media (including two that looked at online public relations and another at online advertising). One study concerned Asian newspapers; all the rest were based on U.S. media and their audiences.

The remaining 82 articles from the other 36 journals were similarly diverse in their conceptual approaches to the topic of online journalism. Some journals have a specific focus and, of course, therefore publish works in line with that focus -- legal issues in *Communication Law and Policy*, for instance, or considerations of issues of identity, gender and political economy *in Critical Studies in Media Communication*. But journals with a broader scope offered a truly eclectic mix, considering everything from meaning production to policy formation to the impacts of globalization.

Indeed, although old warhorses such as uses and grats or diffusion theory were in evidence in a variety of studies, they were not dominant. Nor was any other single conceptual or theoretical approach, making it difficult to ascertain patterns among this assortment. Purely descriptive works were not a major component, either. In all, 20 articles about online journalism were classified as descriptive, or 16.3 percent of the overall total of 123; however, 13 of the 20 were published in 1998 or earlier. The volume of scholarship about online journalism has increased sharply in the past four years, so the percentage simply describing a new phenomenon is clearly diminishing as researchers probe more deeply into the nature and implications of the topic.

Perhaps two points are worth noting, in addition to the fact that such eclecticism is itself noteworthy. First, while several studies called for more interdisciplinary or holistic approaches and for enhanced dialogue among scholars "crucial to the future of communication in increasingly networked societies" (Boczkowski, 1999, p. 101), only three (including one in *J&MCQ*) appeared to take a stab at actually building new models or theories rather than applying or adapting old ones to the new medium.

Second, the newer journals and those not directly affiliated with either the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication or the International Communication Association -- journals such as *Convergence*; *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*; *Information, Communication and Society*; and *New Media and Society*, among others -- seemed more willing to publish studies that took a cultural, or at least qualitative, approach to online journalism. In particular, they seemed more likely to offer scholarship with a global scope, as well as a more readily discernible consideration of the social implications of change for journalists and journalism. Examples included studies of the nature of the public sphere, issues related to the digital divide and the effects of online journalism on community building.

The answer to RQ2 -- what conceptual, theoretical and methodological approaches have been applied to online journalism studies? -- is therefore quite multi-dimensional. Although much research examines online journalism from a framework informed by studies of traditional media forms, there also is ample evidence of a willingness to broaden the scope. However, the outlets for such work currently seem less likely to be the more well-established and prestigious journals in the field.

The answer to RQ3 -- what new approaches suited to the attributes of this medium might be developed to help us understand new forms of journalism within it? -- is a matter of extrapolation from the findings rather than a direct result of this research. It will be considered in the "Conclusion and Discussion" section that follows.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This qualitative meta-analysis of scholarly research into online journalism explored a wide range of published studies in an effort to determine the conceptual, theoretical and methodological foundations on which our knowledge of this emerging medium is being built. It particularly sought to determine whether those foundations are pointing in directions congruent with the fluid, interactive and personalizable nature of the Internet, or whether intellectual exploration of the new medium consists mainly of applying comfortable, familiar patterns of mass communication scholarship.

The results indicate substantial evidence of attempts by scholars to consider the special characteristics of online journalism -- its interactivity, malleability, community-building potential and more -- and to incorporate them into research agendas. They also indicate a willingness to consider the topic from a variety of conceptual perspectives. At the same time, they suggest that particularly among the more well-known journals, the emphasis to date has been on methodological and, to a lesser degree, theoretical approaches developed and refined through the study of now-traditional media forms.

Although the study of mass communication is a relatively young field, a half-century of scholarship has resulted in the thorough development and application of theoretical explanations for what goes on in the production and consumption of print and broadcast news. So it is not surprising that when mass communication researchers turn their attention to online journalism -- as this study shows they have done with increasing frequency as the Internet has diffused through U.S. society over the past decade -- their first impulse is to look at it through existing prisms. After an initial period of interest in the medium itself, scholars typically turn to exploration of its uses and users, then move on to investigations of its effects (Wimmer & Dominick, 1999). They are perhaps especially likely to compare and contrast, looking at how older forms stack up with or are being adapted to the new medium, and what happens as a result.

Yet such "novelty" studies of how new media forms differ from traditional ones have a limited shelf life and may be applicable only at the outset of research into a new area such as online journalism (Newhagen & Rafaeli, 1996). They describe reality at a given point in time so that future research has something on which to build. But as that future arrives, they may provide little more than a historical perspective on how the field was first understood. In fact, this study suggests that researchers and the editors who publish their work are sensitive to that concern. Studies classified here as descriptive tended to be more common in the earlier years of research into online journalism, in the mid-1990s when the low-hanging fruit -- usage studies, studies based on viewing Web sites and categorizing their content, and the like -- may have been too tempting to resist. Indeed, online "content analyses" have seemed such an obvious and popular choice that one scholar was prompted to sound a cautionary note about the dangers of applying a method dependent on precision in coding and counting to a perpetually fluid and extremely diverse medium (McMillan, 2000).

Because little new mass communication theory has been developed in the past two decades, the period in which the Internet evolved and the Web was born, we as mass communications scholars may be at something of a loss for ways to describe and understand modern media phenomena and environments. So our tendency is to fall back on well-established approaches. Again, doing so is potentially valuable when a field of scholarship is in its infancy. What we already know provides a context within which the new topic can be explored, and it allows us to describe reality in a way that is readily accessible to a community of scholars. Moreover, the use of familiar approaches serves a transitional purpose, offering a bridge between old and new.

But transition implies a transition TO something. It entails arriving at a place that is different from the one from which we started. If such as transition is not made, the continued application of old methods and concepts can become constricting, making it difficult to fully understand what is important and perhaps even distinctive about the new thing itself. Use of established techniques and theories, especially those internal to one field, takes us small steps forward but is unlikely to produce any giant leaps.

However, the range of additional possibilities indicated by the current study seems, at the moment, perhaps too vast to get a handle on. There almost seems nothing at all that is irrelevant to the Internet. While that may reflect reality to some extent, it makes the task of understanding the new medium in a constructive way -- for instance, a way that can help make it a better place for online journalism to flourish -- quite the challenge. Unless some order can be extracted from the enormous range of possible subjects of study, it will be difficult to focus our vision enough to develop testable new theories and methods for refining them. A medium such as the Internet raises many long-standing issues from a variety of currently distinct academic disciplines -- political, social and psychological issues, as well as ones directly related to mass communication. It also raises new issues, or new combinations of issues, related to the attributes of the medium and the processes required to accommodate them.

Thus online journalism researchers already may find themselves at a crossroads. On the one hand, we are able to comfortably apply old approaches to new ideas, but doing so seems likely to limit us. On the other, the enormity of the potential inherent in the new medium makes it difficult to extract enough coherence to generate construction of useful new theories. In other words, our choice seems to be between two undesirable approaches to the study of online journalism: narrow and manageable, but restrictive; or broad and inclusive, but unmanageable.

But perhaps there is a viable way to combine the two, to take what we have learned from a well-understood past and incorporate it in the consideration of a future of diverse opportunities. In particular, we might seek a way to examine the multi-dimensional processes at work in the area studied here, one whose intellectual and practical roots are firmly in the mass communication field: online journalism. We might, then, look for ways to use well-established mass communication theories in creative combination with ideas from other fields, including psychology, sociology, political communication and cultural studies.

The latter, in particular, seems ideally suited to the complex yet highly social and interactive environment in which online journalism is situated. For example, if a cultural approach were used to problematize the concept of gate-keeping, a more "holistic" or complete story might be illuminated. An ethnography of an online newsroom or focus groups with online news readers might foster more understanding than surveys or content analyses can do alone (especially given the problems of conducting the latter online). And multiple levels of analysis -- a content analysis plus staff interviews, for example -- might keep us focused while still allowing us to break new conceptual ground and perhaps test innovative measurement tools.

More broadly conceptualized studies also might encourage integration of the standard quantitative approaches with qualitative methods that seek to explore "how" and "why" questions about online journalism, questions that hold enormous promise. This preliminary study indicates little of that sort of integrative research has been done, or at least published, to date, and what has appeared has been in relatively peripheral, small-circulation journals.

Audience research, most common among the studies of online journalism considered here, also holds great promise for the application of approaches that go beyond simply looking at audience behaviors to study how online readers make sense of the news in front of them. While usability experts conduct practical studies of reading habits, few scholars seem to be looking for readers' motivations in pursuing such habits. Why do readers prefer a particular online experience -- and how can journalists best accommodate them? How might online news publications change the way people read and understand their media, as well as the way readers relate to others in their society? What are the implications of gender, age, race, class or geographical differences among readers? These sorts of questions might lead to a better understanding of what is truly significant for online journalism audiences and producers.

In summary, now that a groundwork has been laid, it is time to explore more multi-dimensional approaches to the study of online journalism, ones that potentially can lead to theory-building. To be sure, theory-building is not a "safe, secure endeavor" (Kalbfleisch, 2002, p. 5). It involves taking risks to develop theoretical frameworks that bring meaning and understanding to the object of study, and when that object is as complex as online journalism, some of those frameworks may ultimately be unhelpful. But it is well worth the attempt. And once such studies have been attempted, they should be given an airing in venues where they can be seen, discussed and built on by many others. Serious and systematic consideration of the complex, dynamic yet comprehensible nature of this new medium, whose outlines are now clearly discernible, is needed so we can begin to formulate new theories as well as apply old ones.

Steps in this direction are evident, but we as scholars are clearly still working on it. The most promising course of action -- one that the eclecticism in conceptual approaches revealed in the current study indicates is under way, though not in any readily apparent systematic fashion -- is to bring an interdisciplinary perspective to our scholarship. Not to do so puts us at risk of perpetually seeing only individual trees within a field that represents only one patch of the new landscape, while an entire new-growth forest spreads out to cover the ground.

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TABLE 1: Journals and online communication articles (journalism and non-journalism) from the ComAbstracts database included in this study[a]

JOURNAL	JOURNALISM	NON-JOURNALISM	TOTAL
Asian Journal of Communication	1	1	2
Australian Journal of Communication	4	6	10
Canadian Journal of Communication	3	17	20
Communicatie	2	--	2
Communication Education	—	8	8
Communication Law and Policy	6	11	17
Communication Quarterly	1	4	5
Communication Research	2	7	9
Communication Review	1	1	2
Communication Studies	1	2	3
Communication Theory	1	1	2
Communication Yearbook	4	—	4
Convergence	9	20	29
Critical Studies in Mass Comm	5	6	11
Discourse & Society	--	2	2
Electronic Journal of Communication	13	22	35
European Journal of Communication	2	1	3
Health Communication	--	2	2
Human Communication Research	1	2	3
Information Communication & Society	5	30	35
Journal of Applied Communication	--	2	2
Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media	4	8	12
Journal of Communication	5	6	11
Journal of Communication & Religion	--	1	1
Journal of Family Communication	--	1	1
Journal of Mass Media Ethics	6	2	8
Journal of Media Economics	1	3	4
Journal of Public Relations Research	--	1	1
Journal of Social & Personal Relations	--	1	1
Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism	2	--	2
Journalism & Comm Monographs	--	1	1
Journalism & Mass Comm Quarterly	28	6	34
Mass Comm & Society	4	—	4
Media Psychology	--	2	2
New Media & Society	8	12	20
Political Communication	1	2	3
Public Relations Review	2	10	12
Southern Journal of Communication	--	2	2
Western Journal of Communication	--	2	2
Women's Studies in Communication	--	2	2
Written Communication	—	4	4
TOTALS, 1990-2001	**123**	**210**	**333**

a) Articles were located based on a match of one or more of these keywords: cyberspace, Internet, online, Web.

TABLE 2: Topics covered in the 123 published articles related to online journalism

Topic: Aspect of Online Journalism Covered in Article[a]	Topic By Itself[b]	Topic in Combo with One or More Other Topics[c]	Total Published Articles on Topic, 1990-2001[d]
Audience	22	48	70
Content	5	40	45
Journalists/producers	15	27	42
Medium	7	28	35
Owners/publishers	3	12	15
Advertising	1	6	7
Public relations	4	1	5

a) The first column indicates the topic.
b) The second column indicates the number of articles that were about only that topic.
c) The third column indicates the number of articles that were about that topic plus one or more other topics.
d) The fourth column indicates the total number of articles that deal with that topic, alone or in combination (the sum of columns two and three). The totals in the last column add up to more than 123 because overlapping categories -- for instance, articles about both audience and content -- were possible. In fact, most articles dealt with more than one aspect of online journalism.

Seeing as Believing: A Case Study of Weber's Schema of Charisma and Institution Building As Seen in Visual Images of Students at a Christian Liberal Arts College, 1900-1940

Paper presented to the Visual Arts Division of the
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
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Seeing and Believing: A Case Study of Weber's Schema of Charisma and Institution Building As Seen in Visual Images of Students at a Christian Liberal Arts College.

Introduction: Higher Education's Appeal and Print Media As Boosters

Shortly after the beginning of classes at Asbury College during fall semester, 1936, a special edition of the Louisville-based *Pentecostal Herald* appeared. In most respects it looked like the hundreds of other editions that had hit mailboxes across the U.S. since its beginning in 1888. What was unusual here were the photos. This austere publication generally eschewed visual images, and when it ran them, featured formally-posed portraits of evangelists, missionaries or ministry leaders. Photos it favored were of adults, usually in unsmiling poses. Photos of college-age students that ran in this newspaper looked remarkably like those of their much-older faculty. But in this 1936 edition, one photo of students — run as a horizontal, and as high on the page as possible — showed two sets of four college men clad in white gymnastics tights and white tank tops standing locked by their hands in a peacock pattern from horizontal to vertical. In another photo, run vertically — probably of the same men — they are stacked in a human pyramid. The oddity is that these formations are not in a gym or athletic field. They're on a lawn area in front of the campus library nearly at the center of campus facing a city street. At the bottom of the page are four photos, set in a quadrant-pattern, of students playing tennis — two of them "action" photos.[1] In one of the frames, two students, both looking at the camera, are shaking hands beside the net. Buried in the center of a rambling historical article about the college, a pointed paragraph jumps out not far from the student pyramid photo. "Asbury College is equipped with wonderful buildings. There is classroom space for a thousand students," wrote a vice-president. "But there is a debt to be lifted and worthy young people to be aided."[2]

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[1] The photos, taken from a distance and from a slightly higher-than-landscape perspective, are too far away to show much detail but the students appear to be either involved in a match or made to look that way.

This study examines the visual depictions of students in the *Pentecostal Herald* as to their fit with the reality of who students were, when compared with visual images of students in the Asbury College student newspaper. It also places these images within a backdrop of trends in student culture within higher education at-large between 1900 and 1940, and trends in Christian higher education during this same period. The study uses the template of Max Weber's notion of charisma and institution-building[3] to examine these visual images, suggesting that these photos, culturally accurate or not, were a tool needed at a key period of the school's history, for forming a collective consciousness of what this institution was to be about as it navigated a century of change within American Protestantism and the socio-economic and socio-political landscape of American private higher education. A key question arising from this inquiry is whether photos merely recorded realities, or suggested realities within the changing landscape of colleges. Gabriel Tarde has argued that social models, in any culture, are followed by imitation which sets a precedent for future generations.[4] "Social institutions depend entirely on these conditions," Tarde comments.[5] W.I. Thomas has suggested that the press plays a pivotal role both in creating a perception — within readers — of personality within social community, and in those personalities' ongoing sense of self within the community.[6] Photos, it will be argued in this paper, constitute a powerful tool for symbolic knowledge within any culture — Christian higher education standing as a significant case in point.[7]

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[2] W. Brandt Hughes "Asbury College: A Challenge" *Pentecostal Herald* Oct. 21, 1936, p. 13.

[3]

[4] Gabriel Tarde, *On Communication and Social Influence* (Chicago: Phoenix Books/University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 190.

Weber, social order, and charismatic photos

The United States, more than perhaps any other Western nation, depends on its institutions of higher education to embody rites of passage and create socio-cultural identities that young Americans use to arbitrate economic and social mobility within U.S. power structures.[8] Max Weber would argue that the twentieth century American college and university — in a pattern borne of centuries-long tradition — creates those rites and identities by means of institutional charisma. Though Weber's writings do not specifically deal with cultures of higher education, they do describe institution-building. For a voluntary organization such as a college — particularly one unified at least at some level by a set of faith convictions — Weber would say there must be an agreement as to legitimate order in the social relationships of the institution.[9] While in some settings rules and consequences can be the glue holding institutions together, the more powerful unifier is charisma — that riveting combination of mind, body and spirit that commands a following with seeming effortlessness. Those who have it are not necessarily the duly appointed or elected leaders of an institution — though they could be. More often, those with charismatic authority are those who emerge during crisis to help guide an institution toward stability (though Weber notes that charisma has a dark side, leading at times to destruction of persons and institutions.)[10] Those institutions that survive are those who find means of harnessing charisma into an ongoing direction, over time, for positive change. This harnessing, he says, often takes the shape of institutional ritual. And it is Weber's contention that it is by means of rituals pursued in groups or exemplified by leaders of groups that institutions develop identities — identities shared by those who choose to most closely affiliate with them. A key element of these rituals, S.N. Eisenstadt suggests, has to do with symbols or messages that appear to support or challenge previous assumptions about social order. Under this assumption, students at a Christian liberal arts college, or those interested in becoming students there, would be most drawn to photos, as symbols "which could give meaning to their experiences in terms of some fundamental cosmic, social, or political order, to prescribe the proper norms of behavior, to relate the individual to collective identification" on that campus.[11] Dewey would add that the power of those photos as symbols rests in the prior realities and experiences with which viewers can connect them. Where no prior reality of experience exists, the wise photographer creates images that help viewers create "a working hypothesis corrected and developed by events as action proceeds."[12]

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[5] Ibid, p. 178.

[6] W.I. Thomas *On Social Organization and Social Personality* (Chicago: Phoenix Books/University of Chicago Press, 1966), p.110.

[7] Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in The Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966), p.13

[8] David O. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p.7.

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[9] Max Weber *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* trans. A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Talcott Parsons, 1947).
[10] Weber *Essays in Sociology* ed., trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

Photos and social construction of student culture at Asbury College

Photos were a tool used by the editorial staff of the Kentucky-based *Pentecostal Herald* to build an image for what college life was like — and who students were within it — at this evangelical Christian liberal arts institution in the central Bluegrass. At the same time, photos in the newspaper were a tool for bringing in money from a constituency known more for lay preachers and missionaries than for bankers or industry magnates. Indeed, Asbury College was known during the first four decades of its existence most heavily for its preparation of a holistically-prepared clergy. Its strongest following was to be found along what was known as the "camp-meeting circuit" — a swath of territory running from New Jersey to northern California that cut through the Midwest and touched parts of Texas. But many camp-meeting folk believed that good preachers could be grown without college.[13] And it was a skepticism about higher education shared by many Americans. Before World War I, the undergraduate liberal arts college was disdained by many as a viable means of bringing success in business, the professions, and the vocational marketplace.

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[11] S.N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction: Charisma and Institution Building, Max Weber and Modern Sociology" in *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. xxiii-xxiv; see also S.N. Eisenstadt "Conditions of Communicative Receptivity" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 17 (Fall 1953): 363-375.

[12] John Dewey *Human Nature and Conduct: The Middle Works of John Dewey, 1899-1924* v. 14 ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), pp. 40-41.

At the same time, however, the area where American higher education had a steadily-growing persuasive appeal was among denominational leaders concerned about the hotly-debated fragmentation of belief within organized Protestantism. The drive for an educated clergy had been a basic drive underlying much of higher education as early as the 1600s in the American colonies. Shortly before the Civil War, that impulse — fueled by what Daniel Boorstin calls local booster-ism and a push to build communities on the frontier — sparked the founding of waves of religiously-affiliated liberal arts institutions across the continent.[14] Yet even for church-related or independent but explicitly Christian institutions, college was a hard sell.[15] To win the hearts of parents, teens, and even adults contemplating post-secondary schooling, Christian colleges such as Asbury turned to media.

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[13] William Warren Sweet *Religion on the American Frontier* vol. 4 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 91, 96, 121, 127, 156-157;

[14] Daniel J. Boorstin *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 153-160; George M. Marsden, "The Soul of the American University," *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.10; William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian University Press/Eerdmans, 1984), pp. 56-57.

[15] Philip G. Altbach, *Comparative Higher Education: Knowledge,The University and Development* (Greenwich, CT: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1998), pp. 58-60.

In the new twentieth century, print media was a robust, growing force for shaping opinion that had, since the late nineteenth century, been bolstered by increasingly-used photographs. Asbury College, founded just outside Lexington, Kentucky in 1890 as a reaction against liberalizing forces within American Methodism, had on its board of trustees the editor of a nationally-connected media operation centered in Louisville. Dr. Henry Clay Morrison, a former circuit-riding preacher and a camp-meeting celebrity, was not only editor but a charismatic figurehead for his committed editorial staff at Pentecostal Publishing Company. The downtown operation distributed not only the monthly, nationally-circulated *Pentecostal Herald*. Pentecostal Publishing Company, but also a variety of books, pamphlets, tracts and broadsides. It was through articles and editorials in the *Pentecostal Herald* that Morrison waged an ideological war against Modernism, Progressivism and liberalizing forces within not only Protestantism, but religious higher education and graduate theological institutions. Though the move toward visuals was slow, the *Pentecostal Herald's* photos eventually became a tool used to craft an image of the successful Christian college student and seminarian. These were images aimed only partly at young people. The real pull was toward their elders — those most capable of giving funds necessary to keep Asbury College afloat through the difficult inter-war years, the Depression era and Post-World War era. The path through a new century, many evangelical Christian leaders believed, was to be found not in the reform of secularizing universities and seminaries, but in the maintenance of conservative values at newer Christian institutions such as Asbury. But the task, to be successful, had to be done carefully.[16]

The Pentecostal Herald and the Holiness Movement as Media Backdrop

To understand the ways students were portrayed in the *Pentecostal Herald*, one must see this publication's place in the larger landscape of Protestant ideological warfare. *The Pentecostal Herald* was a prominent voice in a reform effort begun in the late nineteenth century known as the Holiness Movement. The movement's roots traced to the eighteenth century and John Wesley's "heart religion" that steadily drew him away from the staid worship experiences of British Anglicanism. The more experience-oriented versions of faith and worship to which Wesley was attracted would become essential to early American Methodism.[17] The Holiness Movement of the late 1800s was a back-to-basics move emphasizing that hallmark of frontier American Christianity known as the revival. In revivals, believers — generally in groups —were encouraged in plain-spoken language to search their hearts for traces of sin. Upon confessing those sins and accepting God's forgiveness by faith, they were told to yield their minds, souls and bodies to control of the Holy Spirit.[18] The personal reckoning of people with God through this Holy Spirit was one harkening back to a First Century experience known as Pentecost. Those who put special emphasis on Pentecostal experiences with God came to be known, through the Twentieth Century — and most prominently after 1960 — as Charismatics.[19]

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[16] Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Galaxy/Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 28-32.
[17] M.E. Gaddis, "Christian Perfectionism in America," (Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1929), p. 162

The fact that Asbury College students hailed from nearly every state in the union through the early 1900s [20]can be explained by the fact that the Holiness Movement touched denominations all across Protestantism, all across the continent. Though Asbury did not racially integrate until the mid-1960s, traces of Holiness belief could be found in the African Methodist Episcopal churches as well as in black Baptist churches. [21] The Holiness Movement had many parallels and overlaps with the Fundamentalist Movement, which in those same years was attempting to reform the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations — among others. These were movements which opposed the application of European-derived criticism to Biblical manuscripts — particularly the Biblical accounts of the Creation in Genesis, and those referring to Jesus Christ's deity in the New Testament. Fundamentalists and Holiness Movement leaders also shared a skepticism toward empirical science within academia not only as an approach to laboratory study, but as a philosophical approach to all knowledge, especially that regarding spiritual reality. Fundamentalist and Holiness reform efforts were not limited to church matters. Leaders of these movements such as William Bell Riley and William Jennings Bryan made their voices heard in state and national political circles as well. In this regard, the Scopes Trial stands as a watershed moment for what became known in the 1920s as the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Bryan published books and articles through Pentecostal Publishing Company and was a personal acquaintance of Morrison.

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[18] For background in revival as a national movement, see Timotthy L. Smith *Revivalism and Social Reform: Protestantism on the Eve of the American Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957). The Holiness movement's "Pentecostal" distinctives — and no little amount of controversy — derived from such dramatic expressions as speaking in unknown tongues and impromptu prophetic proclamations during worship. Violent shaking of the body — known in one early nineteenth century University of Georgia revival as "the jerks" — were known to be part of the picture. Pentecostal worship also left the door open to spontaneous healings of illness and deformity in those with enough faith to receive such blessings. Kentucky's Cane Ridge Revival of August 1801, in Bourbon County Kentucky, was known for some of the more outlandish charismatic worship experiences. See also, Vinson Synan *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971, 1997), p.12

[19] Martin E. Marty *Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 470; Mark Noll *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), pp. 386-388.

[20] Asbury College was listed in the 1930s as one among less than a dozen schools across the U.S. with a truly national constituency. See Levine *The American College*…p. 143 note 17 (p.239).

[21] ibid, pp. 167-185.

Perhaps most significant to Asbury College and the students it attracted was the parallel between Fundamentalism and the Holiness Movement in their grassroots appeal, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to a largely rural population. While the movement had begun in urban churches, it found its real power and mass appeal in outlying churches across the continental U.S. and Canada. These were movements that appealed to the poor and those on the margins of society. They called people to live apart from the established social order and in their own way were a movement calling for social justice in ways that might sound like the "Social Gospel" of Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden.

Historian Vinson Synan points that

> In the holiness system of values the greatest 'social sins' were not poverty, inequality, or unequal distribution of the wealth, but rather the evil effects of theatre, ball games, dancing, lipstick, cigarettes, and liquor.[22]

What this paper's research suggests is that the *Pentecostal Herald* sought, from its earliest representations of students, to show that Asbury College could become a sort of spiritual — as well as socio-cultural — finishing school. Students who came from rough, unschooled backgrounds could gain a refinement in their understanding of the Bible and the rudiments of ministry leadership. They would also, so the images seemed to declare, become scholars of general education capable of entering any of a number of vocations other than ministry.

Long lens: Pentecostal Herald Images of a College and Its Students

The *Pentecostal Herald*, in 1900, was a family-oriented newspaper aimed at a church-going readership, generally in middle-class homes. It had been launched in 1888 as*The Old Methodist* — a voice of reform calling that denomination's leadership back to traditions Morrison believed had been abandoned. It was one among many such newspapers published by denominational groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Within three years, though, Morrison had begun rethinking his editorial target. He changed the newspaper's name — first to simply *The Methodist*, then to *The Pentecostal Herald* : the latter as a means of reaching across denominational lines.[23] As a tool for linking Holiness believers in a tightly-knit media fellowship, The *Pentecostal Herald* steadily built a national circulation that at its peak in the 1940s comprised some 55,000 readers — an unheard-of reach for religious publications of that era.[24]

By language of articles and columns, as well as in use of photos in the newspaper in 1900, its appeal looks to have been aimed at male readers, though by the 1920s, more and more articles were aimed at women. Nearly from its inception, the newspaper also contained columns with teaching and tips for pre-adolescents and younger children. One indicator of this religious publication's targeted demographic was its advertising. The newspaper's back pages throughout the period studied for this paper featured Bibles, church song books, Bible-themed greeting cards, pastoral helps (including whole libraries of theological texts), and tents for outdoor services. It also sold baking powder, gelatin

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[22] Vinson Synan *The Holiness Pentecostal Tradition: Charismatic Movements in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971, 1997), p. 47.

[23] Unsigned editorial, "Our New Name," *The Pentecostal Herald* Aug. 11, 1897, p.1. The editorial said "we are ready to strip ourselves of any impediment — yes, to make any sacrifice at any time, in order to extend our influence and usefulness." The editor added, "we do not believe we are over-reaching the mark when we predict for it in a short time a circulation of one hundred thousand."

[24] G. Wayne Rogers, "A Study of Henry Clay Morrison and His Fundraising Technique in *The Pentecostal Herald* for Asbury Seminary, 1939-1942," unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Kentucky, 1981, p. 45.

mix, ice cream powder, anti-dandruff remedies, phonographs and hearing aids. More pertinent to this paper's research is that *Pentecostal Herald* marketed colleges — many of them. Those buying space between 1900 and 1940 ranged from tiny all-male and all-female institutes, to Bible colleges, to liberal arts colleges, to larger, institutions such as Tulane University. In 1900, Asbury College's visual presence in the *Pentecostal Herald* tended to be limited to advertisements — generally one among many two- to three-inch ads for colleges on one of the last three pages of what was usually a 12-page publication.[25] Photos in these ads mainly showed buildings, usually the administration building or a large dormitory. In ads that showed students, they appear in groups and are generally in formal attire or in military-style uniforms. Hoffman notes that such formal photos comprise visual inferences arising out of relationships we have with visual elements around us. And judging by the visual images chosen for 1900-vintage advertising, higher education, at the turn of the century, was seen as a formal exercise[26]

Over time, the *Pentecostal Herald* would move its promotion of Asbury College out of the back pages into feature stories and visual images in its front sections and the front page.[27] But what is especially interesting about this newspaper's promotion of what was initially a struggling, fledgling institution is the way editors used a fairly-consistent set of images of students — and non-students as well — to promote a sense among readers of what men and women at a successful Holiness college should look like. By doing so, it created a set of cultural icons that would become benchmarks for generations to come within the Holiness Movement. At the same time — noted later in this paper — it appears that the very students who were being portrayed at least initially by the *Pentecostal Herald* as stalwart and humorlessly pietistic, were finding ways of creating their own meanings for life within a Holiness environment of faith and learning.

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[25] With only a few exceptions, schools that appeared in these advertisements have either folded or changed names. Some examples were Dickson College, Dickson, Tenn.; Central Plains College, Plainview, Texas; Ruskin-Cave College, Ruskin, Tenn.; Meridian Male College, and Meridian Female (later Meridian Woman's) College, Meridian, Miss.; Millersburg Female College and Millersburg Male College, Millersburg, Ky.; The Blackstone School for Girls, Blackstone, Va.; Liberty College(women's), Glasgow, Ky.; Southeastern Holiness Institute, Donalson, Ga.; Texas Holiness University, Peniel, Tex.; Schools advertised that still exist include Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio; Taylor University, Upland, Ind.; Houghton College, Houghton, NY; and Tulane University.

By extension, it used these photos as tools to craft an image of what post-secondary students could and should be all over the United States at a time when the Holiness Movement was asking serious questions about its future. The *Pentecostal Herald* was a newspaper with an attack mentality — or one at least fervently defensive. It fought what it believed were aggressive moves by denominational and cultural foes aimed at luring away all Christians, but particularly the young, from a Holiness perspective on Christian faith. It fought or warned against the temptations of liquor, tobacco, gambling, dance-clubs and motion pictures. (It also condemned lynching, white slavery, and corporate greed.)

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[26] Donald D. Hoffman *Visual Intellligence: How We Create What We See* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998) pp. 6-7.

As might be expected, the newspaper's use of student photos also aimed at helping alert the readership to crises the institution was facing — which were many between 1900 and the post-Depression period. The school suffered a devastating fire in 1909 that destroyed two key campus buildings and forced a move across town. In the 1920s, building projects ran into funding problems severe enough to force work -stoppages. The Depression years hit the college hard enough that it turned to selling bonds and its chapel was completed in the late 1920s only after selling its 1,500 seats chair-by-chair to constituents — among several other well-publicized measures.[28]

The *Pentecostal Herald's* earliest photos of Asbury College in the early 1900s tended to use buildings as symbolic images of the college's permanency within both Christian higher education and within the landscape of what some, with little insight into Kentucky or this largely rural Bluegrass region, might have seen as a non-intellectual environment. Mora points out that photos of architecture were common at the turn of the century. They were an easy investment risk — buildings don't move — and given the angle from which they were taken, could make strong statements about the size, beauty and stability of not only structures, but entire institutions.[29] The Asbury ads were part of a trend nationally. Use of photos in American publications' advertisements rose steadily between 1890 and

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[27] Asbury woul d not be the only college so featured. Oval-shaped, lace-festooned portraits of the graduating class of Meridian Female College (four students) would be featured on the front page of the July 18, 1906 edition of the *Pentecostal Herald.*

[28] Joseph A. Thacker *Asbury College: Vision and Miracle* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1990), p. 136.

[29] Gilles Mora *PhotoSPEAK: A Guide to the Ideas, Movements, and Techniques of Photography, 1839 to the Present* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), pp. 49-50,

1920. Combinations of drawing, washes and photography in printed material skyrocketed from .3 percent to 28.7 percent between 1895 and 1919. By 1920, an estimated 90 percent of all advertisers were using some type of pictorial illustration.[30] But it was a controversial trend. The intellectual elite lamented that publications were moving from an emphasis on the literary to visual impressions. Yellow Journalism, which used photos in vicious ways in the early twentieth century, gave good reason for editors of newspapers such as the *Pentecostal Herald* to use photos with discretion — even to the point of neglecting photos' power for good.[31]

Yet on the other hand, the *Pentecostal Herald's* emphasis in its shots of buildings — not unlike shots in institutional materials used at other institutions — might be seen as, in their own way, causing subtle distortion. Their aim was to show readers the relative enormity of the columned structures on Asbury's front campus property when viewed by individual students in this academically-minded environment. The most frequently published of these frames tended to be shot at angles emphasizing the height of roof lines and columns, usually packing as many other buildings in the near-distant landscape as possible. Alan Wallach, in a study of visuals surrounding well-known landscapes, notes that ideological context is crucial to the ways those depicting visual scenes represent reality. The more powerful a visual scene was for readers, the more likely that the scene had some symbolic or ritual meaning for those viewers or readers. Indeed, the shot of Asbury's front-campus buildings constitutes a panorama in the strictest sense, the one first coined in the late eighteenth century by students of visuals as that shot afforded only by a privileged, predetermined vantage point.[32]

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[30] Curtis A. Collins, "Art Usage Curves Shoot Up — Watch the Magazine Advertising" *Inland Printer* 70 (March 1923), 857; N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc. *Camera* (promotional brochure) (Philadelphia, 1929), p.3; "Photography I n Advertising," *Photo Era* 10:2 (February 1903), 73.

[31] Michael L. Carlebach *American Photojournalism Comes of Age* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), pp. 12-13

And the buildings on the Asbury College front-campus property had a distinctly powerful meaning for the founders of the institution — moreso than buildings farther away. Such buildings as Fletcher Hall and Wesley Hall (both dormitories but set several hundred feet away from the front campus area) rarely get the panoramic photo coverage of those facing the horseshoe-shaped pavement on front campus that would one day become known as Macklem Drive — named for a benefactor later in the century.[33]

By 1915, the *Pentecostal Herald* had begun an annual edition devoted to promoting Asbury College. This edition, usually in July but sometimes in August, featured more than 20 photos devoted to showing readers the best of what Asbury College claimed to be. Most prominent in these collections were photos of buildings, faculty and administrators. Where students appeared, they were generally shown in photographed groups — the larger the group the better, even if faces were inscrutable. Students who got more individual photo treatment tended to be ministerial candidates or campus celebrities like international ministerial students.

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[32] Alan Wallach, "Making a Picture of the View from Mount Holyoke," ch. 4 in *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth Century Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 81-82.

[33] "Macklem Memorial Gateway," *The Pentecostal Herald* July 25, 1934, p.14. This photo, shot from a ground-level vantage point, emphasizes the brick columns and height of the curving metal archway over the one-lane concrete drive.

Changes in *The Pentecostal Herald's* attention to Asbury College, in many ways, follows the career trajectories and charisma of its editor. Though Morrison was affiliated with the college from its inception in 1890, serving on its board of trustees, it was not until he stepped in as its president in 1910 that his newspaper took on the role of unofficial house organ for this liberal arts college and its campus community. As the college grew, so grew the coverage of it in the newspaper. Or, as Weber might argue, with the growth in coverage — particularly led as it was by a well-known leaders such as Morrison — so also grew a favorable impression of this institution in the minds of a wide constituency.[34] Prior to 1910, these newspaper readers — and those who spread the word beyond this readership — might perhaps have heard of Asbury College in only passing references within a context of many other small Christian colleges or universities across the Southeast. Tarde would suggest that by means of this influential newspaper and the word-of-mouth power of the camp-meeting circuit on which Morrison was a regular presence, Asbury College's persona — in particular, the image of what it meant to be an

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[34] Weber *On Charisma and Institution Building...*, p.18.

Asbury student — grew in important ways between 1910 and 1940.[35] By 1916, *The Pentecostal Herald* was running photos of the Henry Clay Debating Club, the Senior Academy Club (shown as an all-women group holding tennis racquets), and the Asbury Fire Department.[36]

Though it is difficult to know precisely the ways readers approached this monthly newspaper, some studies of readership in the early twentieth century provide insights. The late nineteenth century industrialization of the United States had begun creating a middle class culture[37] that provided Americans leisure time — as well as more ways to be busy. Hence, many publications moved their page designs out of purely-gray text formats to ones more interspersed with illustrations. Readers picked pieces out that appealed to them, using "scraps of time" they found to consume these morsels.[38]

Readers of the *Pentecostal Herald*, from all appearances, were a loyal group. Martin Marty has pointed out that the Protestant press in America has always been a targeted market — one which had the ability to bring a sense of connected-ness and unity to believers scattered across vast geographic distances.[39] Letters to the editor indicate readers faithfully followed the ideas and comments by editors, even tracking their travels when they wrote from abroad. Readers of the *Pentecostal Herald* were a constituency well-connected to this publication for it constituted a link to established norms of their faith which were crumbling within Protestantism at-large. Within pages of this newspaper, as regular as the mail carrier at their front gate, they found weekly reminders that theirs was a faith commitment shared by thousands of others.[40]

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[35] Gabriel Tarde *On Communication and Social Influence* Selected papers, ed. Terry N. Clark (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 277.

[36] *The Pentecostal Herald*, June 28, 1916, p.23. The college, apparently to better prepare the campus against the effects of such disastrous fires as the one that destroyed the administration building and a music hall in 1909, developed a fire department to act as a supplement to what was might have been a less-than-adept, probably volunteer city and county fire department system. College historian Joseph A. Thacker, jr. notes that on the day of the 1909 fire, only a campus bucket brigade was available to douse the flames. Thacker, *Asbury College: Vision and Miracle* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1990), p.79. The Asbury fire department photo shows 28 college-age students and older adults clad in fire hats and long coats carrying axes, hoses and portable fire extinguishers.

[37] Burton J. Bledstein *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1978), pp. 65-79.

[38] Robert and Helen Lynd *Middletown* (New York, 1956), p. 235.

Another Look: Images of Students in Student Publications at Asbury College

Student newspapers, as a phenomenon within American journalism, are traceable from many vantage points, but perhaps most significantly through the lens of higher education culture. They are a tradition rich with symbolic and rhetorical significance. Most campuses have had a publication serving their students with roots in early portions of their institution's history, if not its very founding. Cultural historian Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz has noted, regarding newspapers on American campuses, that these publications were a gathering point for student leaders.[41] She also argues, building on premises laid down by Frederick Rudolph, that the extracurriculum became a means of cultural rebellion against established authoritarian structures of administration and lifestyle regimens. Though Horowitz' research covered mainly public and larger private institutions, research for this paper suggests her research hypotheses apply no less to smaller Christian liberal arts campuses.

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[39] Martin I. Marty *The Religious Press in America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp. 11-15.

Those who gained access to the printing presses run on these campuses — presses run literally or by extension by the hand of too-often culturally cautious administrators — were a select few. The author's own surveys of some of these editors at Asbury College, from previous research, indicates they were palpably aware that their editorial decisions were being watched, both by their administrators and by some of their more powerfully-impressive peers. So they treaded lightly. Humor, where it appeared, was subtle. Where they took stands on issues, they were doing so generally only after a considerable public debate had laid a foundation for established views. There was safety and even a measure of promotional value in in repeating what most already knew, and were eager to read about in a bit more narrative or opinionated form. And if hesitation about stories was a

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[40] For a study of the *Pentecostal Herald's* specialized inks to religious publishing nationally, see M. Longinow, "The Foundations of Evangelical Publishing, 1900-1942," in *Media and Religion in American History* (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2000), pp. 245-248.

given, it was no less so for photos.[42] While the first "hard news" story appeared within the first year or two of the student newspaper's existence, the first "hard news" photo (a shot of a crashed campus truck) did not appear until the 1920s. Photos within the Asbury College newspapers were used as judiciously as the words that surrounded them. But over time, they appear to become glimpses of the less-rigid worlds students were shaping for themselves within what the *Pentecostal Herald* portrayed as serious Holiness Movement education.

Asbury College's first student-run publications were literary in nature, launched by literary societies on campus in the late 1890s. Little is known about how they began, nor about why they apparently ceased operations before 1900. Asbury's first campus newspaper, called the *Asbury College New Era*, appeared in 1914, a weekly publication with six editors — two of whom were women. The newspaper appears not to have been heavily subsidized by the institution, with entire pages of ads in back sections of what was usually a four-page publication. Initial editions of the newspaper, set in tabloid format, carried few photos. In fact, photos in the publication were rare until the late 1930s and even then tended to be concentrated in editions for which money apparently had been set aside for large photo spreads. The newspaper had a tabloid-style or magazine look before the mid-1930s. When photos ran in these editions, usually one appeared under the

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[41] Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p.41.

flag on the front with no more than one or two inside. The newspaper switched to a broadsheet format Oct. 1, 1926 but the number of photos did not increase markedly even with this larger page size. Generally, 1-2 photos would appear on the front with 2-3 inside except in special editions — generally at commencement but occasionally also in the first fall edition.

Photos in the *New Era*, as well as in early editions of *The Asbury Collegian* — its name after 1925 — look remarkably similar to photos run in the *Pentecostal Herald.* Some are identical, indicating that some sharing of photo material might have been going on. Most visual images in the Asbury College newspaper are of faculty or administrators before the 1930s, and where student photos appear they are in portrait format with students clad in dresses or coats and ties. An interesting variation of this is a photo of male students in tuxedos standing shoulder to shoulder for a portrait but all are smiling animatedly and two are laughing uproariously.[43]

Many of the multiple-photo spreads in this period have a yearbook look with oval-shaped frames set in symmetric patterns. The difference between such photo spreads that might have appeared in the *Pentecostal Herald* is the way student editors personalized the photos — from a student publications perspective. A page of photos of the newspaper

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[42] see student media chapter in Michael A. Longinow, "Mysterious and Spontaneous Power: shaping of an evangelical culture for revivalist higher education in Henry Clay Morrison's Pentecostal Herald, 1914-1942" doctoral dissertation, The University of Kentucky, 1996.
[43] "The Quartette, Asbury College," *The Asbury Collegian* May 24, 1926, p.5.

staff laid out as stacked, oval-shaped portraits (with hand-written identifications for each) was a caption reading, "the above cut is a picture of the staff that has made the 1926 Collegian a success. Only through the untiring efforts fo (sic) the entire staff has this been accomplished."[44]

There is evidence, even in early visuals in the Asbury student newspaper, of more creativity than was allowed in the *Pentecostal Herald.* Students are more often shown in action. Study of photos between 1900 and 1940 in the *Asbury New Era* and *Asbury Collegian,* overall, more often show students smiling in natural ways; occasional candids reveal some of the extracurricular life that provided cultural lubrication to rigidities of a campus known as much for its piety as for scholarship. Despite the use of tennis photos in the *Pentecostal Herald* of 1936, the Asbury College campus newspaper stands completely apart from H.C. Morrison's editorial staff in its portrayals of students involved in sports. Due to the limitations of camera equipment for these student journalists, only a handful of photos show action; most are of teams seated in formation, though they are generally in their uniforms.[45]

Photos in the *New Era* and *Collegian,* like those in the *Pentecostal Herald,* are very often of buildings — attempts on the part of those making the photos, much like their editorial counterparts at the *Pentecostal Herald*, to showcase the physical features of this campus. During one year, students appear to have collaborated with an archivist at the college to pull together photos of college landmark buildings erected over the school's history. Some of the photos showcase buildings that had burned down years earlier. Accompanying text takes the form of a long-running historical series.[46]

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[44] "The 1926 Collegian Staff," *The Asbury Collegian* May 24, 1926, p.4.
[45] "The All-Asbury Team," (females)*The Asbury Collegian* March 14, 1931, p.3; "The All Asbury Team," (males), *The Asbury Collegian,* March 7, 1931, p.3; "Freshman Squad," *The Asbury Colletgian,* March 1, 1931, p.3; "Senior Academy Class," *The Asbury Collegian* April 17, 1926, p.8.

But unlike the *Pentecostal Herald*, building photos in the Asbury student newspaper more often contain students, and more often portray these students either alone or in smaller groups. A similarity between the *Pentecostal Herald* and the student newspaper is that student portraits that appear on the front page tend to be males, tend to be formally dressed, and are often in ministerial roles are recent graduates in ministry positions. One distinct difference between the newspapers is the strong emphasis, particularly in front page coverage, on debate team leadership and winnings. These teams competed — often quite successfully — against larger universities, some of them Ivy League schools, and took on controversial topics. Another subtle difference between the publications is that picture captions in the student newspaper describe students in more intimate ways, sometimes poking fun and hinting at inside jokes. One series of photos run in the 1930s, comprises a photo-quiz titled "Whoozit?" An early shot in the series, a bit blurry — perhaps indicating haste by the photographer —shows a male and female student seated close to each other on a couch in a dormitory lounge. The caption asks readers to guess who the romantics are, providing subtle clues. By the late 1930s, Asbury's student newspaper was running more and more photos in more natural poses, and by 1940 student journalists were allowed freedom to run a multi-photo spread on an event known as Artist Series. The event, centered around a visit from well-known musical ensemble, involved formal attire and much preparation (indeed, the event would eventually take on enormous proportions as a mating ritual for students). A series in 1940 shows photos of students chatting outside the largest women's dormitory, shows separate photos (facing each other) of a male and female student primping before the big night, and includes a line-drawing caricature of the visiting soloist seated on a piano.[47]

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[46] This series of photos ran in 1929 beginning with "An Early Laboratory," Feb. 9, 1929, and continuing with shots of an auditorium in a building that had burned in 1909, and a former dining hall.

The late 1930s and early 1940s mark a subtle change in visual representation within the *Asbury Collegian.* During these years many of the photos are similar to photos run earlier — mostly shots of at least semi-formally-outfitted students, and decidedly more faculty and administrators than students. But the change is that students in the photos are in more candid poses, they're more often smiling naturally — if not laughing — and there appear more photos of students in comical poses.[48]

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[47] "Artist Series in Review," *The Asbury Collegian* Dec. 14, 1940, p.7.

[48] "Life with Barber: A Typical Student's Day," and "Picture Parade"*The Asbury Collegian* Dec. 14, 1940, pp.6, 7; "John Carter, Campus Favorite" *The Asbury Collegian* October 26, 1940; "Edgar Nelson (Sully)" in "Senior Sketches," *The Asbury Collegian* October 3, 1936, p.3.

Conclusion

What this paper's research has suggested is that that photo-usage in two parallel publications differed markedly in their approaches to portrayal of both the life and actions of a Christian liberal arts college, and the lives of students within that residential campus environment. The differences can be explained in many ways, but using Weber's perspectives of symbolic ritual and charismatic leadership, photos after the mid-1930s diverge in their representation of students and their personalities.

By surveying the visual images used in each, this study has sought to suggest that the editorial goals as well as the outcomes of each publication, in its visuals, differ in many ways — guided, at least in part, by the varying conceptions among editors for each as to what constituted charisma among leaders of this institution. Editors of the *Pentecostal Herald* were people committed to the ongoing life of a college whose funding was in nearly constant peril between 1900 and the early 1940s. The photos used in that publication are ones attempting to portray the permanency and strength of an institution worthy of financial support. Students were portrayed as part of that resolute image, but not as often as the structures of the campus property. The Asbury College newspaper had very different goals. In this publication, students aimed at telling the story of their existence and ongoing sense of self within a Christian liberal arts culture. While some of their portrayals of the college life around them mirrors that of their administrators and faculty, there are departures at many junctures indicating that students were making their own worlds within the grids and structures in which they found themselves. Much more research is needed to tell the deeper story of what students believed about themselves based on photo images in their publication. More research is needed, as well, to determine the broader scale of what images were used by students and their administrators at campuses all across the United States to create visual identities of undergraduates and their worlds in the twentieth century. This is an inquiry which bears particular importance for understanding the role of Protestant Christian experience within higher education — an experience which in the twenty-first century raises more questions than answers. As the years unfold, and as questions unfold with them, Christian liberal arts colleges and universities can be expected to look for direction to those leaders, both in administrative offices and in student worlds, whose charisma will provide needed leadership. And the stories of how that charisma plays out will no doubt be one recorded, — for better or worse, as antecedent or precedent — in visual images.

Scholastic
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MEDIA CONVERGENCE:
INDUSTRY PRACTICES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

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April 1, 2002

Abstract

The following study looks at the changing nature of contemporary mass communication practices, focusing on multi-media, or converged, journalism. It also describes what scholastic journalism instructors are doing to prepare their students for these changes and provides recommendations to educators about how to update curriculum to account for convergence. The major areas of communication study include the influences on content and journalism education. The paper includes a literature review on media convergence. It has a pro-technology, progressive bias.

Introduction

At a February 2002 conference on media convergence at the University of Florida, a reporter from a Tampa media company told the audience at the time she was working on 31 stories. The Tampa reporter astonished the audience of journalism educators with this revelation. Why was she so busy? Although she primarily works as a television reporter, she also has to write for the company's newspaper and Web site on a daily basis. She says she is rarely off duty and occasionally has to give herself permission to decelerate.

As the journalism educators in her audience that day struggle to prepare aspiring reporters to write summary news leads, they have to wonder how they can get their students to a point even remotely near where they can multi-task as well as the Tampa reporter, who happens to work in one of the most thoroughly converged news operations in the country. It is a daunting task. Yet it is one that presents an opportunity for today's journalism educators.

When 88 percent of the professional respondents for this study said that they participated in high school journalism and the majority of those said that that experience had a major impact on their decision to become journalists, it is clear that communication

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educators have a significant influence on the career choices of their students. What journalism educators do – teach, coach and advise – matters, and this paper looks at the current state of affairs in newsrooms across the country and how educators are beginning to take into account the ever-changing nature of journalism.

The purpose of this study is to explore media convergence in terms of its implications for education. It includes the following: (1) an examination of the impact of convergence on contemporary working journalists, especially with regards to its effect on job routines and skills development; (2) their suggestions about what journalism educators should be teaching their students; and (3) a look at what journalism educators are doing to incorporate convergence in their programs. It also makes recommendations about the direction journalism education ought to take in this age of convergence.

What follows is a brief explanation of the phenomenon of convergence, followed by a framework for studying it. The paper next asks what high school teachers are doing in an attempt to prepare for media convergence. The paper also looks at what today's media practitioners are saying about their environment and how they think journalism education needs to respond to the rapid changes in professional communications.

The research questions for this paper are: (1) what are journalism educators currently doing to incorporate convergence into their curricula; and (2) what abilities, skills and attitudes do professional journalists expect from their newest employees?

Most convergence studies focus on audiences and the uses and effects of converged media. This paper takes a different direction. It looks at the impact that convergence has on those professionals who gather and disseminate news, and then the implications of their practices for education. This paper, thus, comes from the point of view of influences on news production, from education to routines to journalists' attitudes toward their jobs and careers.

Definitions

Convergence comes from two Latin words that mean "together" and "incline" (Jewell, 375). Thus, convergence is about two or more things coming together – and, in a sense, they are inclined to come together. What is media convergence? Henry Jenkins, professor of comparative media studies at MIT, writes that media convergence "is an ongoing process, occurring at various intersections of media technologies, industries, content and audiences" (H. Jenkins, 93). Jenkins notes that the media are ubiquitous and that today people are using "all kinds of media in relation to one another" (H. Jenkins, 93). Media consumers are no longer passive participants in the exchange of content, merely receiving what content providers gather, edit and transmit. Now consumers are becoming more active and are developing skills for the management of media information that formerly was the sole domain of journalists, especially print reporters and editors. With the proliferation of interactivity, media users are creating new relationships and structures in the communication process. Now non-journalists are becoming gate-keepers, tailoring information consumption to their own sets of needs and desires. Furthermore, consumers are consumed with the media and the time devoted to their consumption is never-ending. The information cycle now is ever-present, 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Jenkins distinguishes between five types of media convergences: (1) technological convergence, (2) economic convergence, (3) social convergence, (4) cultural convergence and (5) global convergence (H. Jenkins, 93).

Technological convergence refers to the chunking or digitalization of media content. This is a radical departure from the linear media of the print and earlier broadcast eras. Economic convergence refers to the horizontal integration of media giants like AOL/Time Warner or Disney/ABC. Social convergence refers to the saturation of media usage by the individual. For example, University of Florida football fans might watch a Gators' game on television, listen to the UF Radio Network on a portable device and keep up, say, with statistical information on the Internet through continually updated box scores. Indeed, the university already has wireless zones on campus, and, in the not-too-distant future, Gator fans will be able to access online databases with their laptops inside Ben Hill Griffin Stadium (Holmes). At the same time, they may also confer with like-minded Florida football fans via e-mail, forums and/or chat rooms.

Cultural convergence refers to a trend in which the merging of technologies "fosters a new participatory folk culture by giving average people the tools to archive, annotate, appropriate and re-circulate content" (H. Jenkins, 93). This does not mean an end to traditional media; it simply means the end of the traditional media as exclusive gate-keepers. No longer are commercial media companies the only repositories of information. Communicators learn to fashion information for various media channels. An Internet article, for instance, might also include streaming audio and video of an action-oriented event, such as a space shuttle launch. For the content user to be able to watch, read about and hear about a launch gives the transmitter three channels of information exchange. As MIT professor Jerome Lettvin observes, "the consumer must learn to navigate within a culturally vibrant cacophony of voices" (Bender). Yet the very presence of the consumer as potential gate-keeper changes the nature of journalism. Now media consumers can exchange and validate content before journalists do. Much of the professional journalists' animus towards the Matt Drudges of the world is the fact that Internet news gadflies don't print once a day. Drudge can update his site anytime of the day. Accordingly, the mainstream media had to adjust and they are gradually making their sites accountable to this new state of affairs. *The Washington Post* and *New York Times* Web sites include not only the stories that are published in the print editions of their papers, but they also prominently display breaking news from a variety of sources, including their own reporters and wire services. In essence, then, the merging or converging of media operations is about control.

In this paper, the term convergence means multi-media journalism, and both will refer specifically to reporting, writing and disseminating content in two or more media platforms. Such a journalist works in an environment in which consumers read his or her articles, but they also expect ever more supplemental information across media platforms. Reporters at the *Tampa Tribune* are expected to be able to write stories for the print and online editions of the paper and to report on WFLA's television station. Consumers of such information expect hyper-links, streaming video and audio, and still photography to complement these articles. They also are coming to expect interactivity.

Multi-media journalism is a consequence of the technological innovations that accompany convergence. That is, the use of computers – digital formats – allow a company like Media General, owner of the three Tampa media properties and a $40 million building in which to house them, to combine resources of their newspaper, television and online production units in a single building. The primary symptom of multi-media journalism is reporters' filing reports for as many media as possible in a given day.

What are the advantages of each medium? Television is seen as the launch vehicle in converged operations. It brings a topic or issue into public faster than newspapers. It also appeals to audiences both visually and emotionally. Newspapers offer in-depth coverage with analysis. The online units provide instant interactivity, a 24-7 news cycle and versatility with streaming audio and video as well as traditional still photography. The converged media companies see the different media complementing one another for a more sophisticated audience that wants more comprehensive coverage across media platforms.

A friction point in convergence comes in the philosophy behind the news industry. Traditionally, U.S. radio, television, newspapers and magazine competed to deliver information to audiences in an open-market economic system. With the merging of media platforms, cooperation is replacing competition toward the end of more centralized production of content. Another phenomenon is the sharing of information by increasingly larger media companies. For example, when a major act of violence occurs in Goshen, Indiana, a sister station in Jacksonville, Florida, piggy-backs on the South Bend, Indiana, station's satellite feed to give northeast Florida viewers on-the-scene reporting. Is sharing sources appropriate? Does corporate media merging pose reduce public discourse and hinder democracy? Will it ultimately mean the need for fewer and fewer reporters, as the development of other technology has meant a decline in the number of employees in other areas of the production process?

These are important questions and they need to be answered. Yet what this study will examines is the effect cooperation and other convergence attributes have on journalists and the implications for education. Accordingly, this study will center on the effects of convergence on the individual media practitioner. The degree that conglomeration is causing the changes we call convergence is the subject of another study.

Literature review

The effects of convergence on journalists are just beginning to be understood and explained. Indeed, convergence is changing the way journalists do their jobs. As University of Iowa journalism professor Jane B. Singer observed in *Convergence* magazine, journalists who practice in a multi-media world are coming to observe their profession much differently than previous generations of journalists. The traditional role of gate-keeping – gathering information and then determining what information to disseminate to their audience – remains central to contemporary journalists. However, Singer found the emergence of two new roles for journalists in today's media world: (1) interpreters of information and (2) managers of information quality. Singer notes that the contemporary journalists' roles have become "less about selecting stories for dissemination and more about bolstering the value of what they disseminate so that it rises to the crest of the information tidal wave" (Singer, 1997, 72). In other words, with the proliferation of information on the Internet and cable television, journalists have to provide something extra to make their stories stand out in this digital tower of Babel. The quality of their content becomes central to determining their roles as multi-media journalists. Of course, in the multi-media environment, this would seem to complicate the journalist's job. He or she not only must provide quality news reports that rises above the flack of the current media environment, today's journalist must also be willing and able to perform in more than one medium.

Working across media creates situations journalists haven't faced before in their careers. For example, Gayle Sierens is an anchor at Tampa's WFLA-TV. On one occasion, she had taped an interview with a murder suspect. However, the interview was bumped on the nightly TV news and she was asked to write the story for the next morning's paper. "I'd never in my life felt like I scooped myself, but I scooped myself that day," Sierens told "The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer" (Smith, 2).

Technology, though, remains the key component in convergence, though it intersects with cost benefits. Canadian journalist George Hutchinson asks: "In television, why send a reporter and a videographer to an event when the person behind an increasingly portable camera can alone hold a microphone and ask the pertinent question of the day" (Hutchinson, A17).

In the U.S., multi-media journalism remains in its infancy. Only a limited number of media companies have merged more than two media platforms. The *Tampa Tribune* is one of the exceptions and it says it had 660 cases of converged reporting in its first year of operation in its new merged-media facility. Despite Media General's commitment to multi-media journalism, the *Tribune* faced a few obstacles to fully converging. First, it did not have a software program that allowed the newspaper, television and online components to share daily budgets. Instead, budgets were simply printed out and passed around the building. When a program was created – an intranet – each division was responsible for learning yet another computer program. This created another level of resistance that had to be overcome by journalists who were already weary of the idea of sharing with their brothers and sisters in other media. Donna Reed, the *Tribune's* managing editor, said that only 25 percent of the media operation's 290 reporters are filling to more than one media channel. Furthermore, she said the operation is not making money yet (Pigg).

The biggest concern in multi-media journalism concerns the centralization of news gathering because "combined newsrooms will be downsized and news homogenized if stories being printed or broadcast in different media are all coming from the same few reporters" (Pigg). Gil Thelen, executive editor of the *Tribune*, did say the converged operation in Tampa shares resources, but that the newspaper and television station make independent editorial decisions. "We are careful to stress that there is no merger of the newsrooms," Thelen writes (5). It is not clear if this is the trend across the nation in converged media operations. Thelen said that because of personal computers and the Internet, consumers are ahead of media companies in using multiple platforms. "Our rationale: Be there with news and information whenever and however our customers need and want us to be," Thelen writes (6).

Yet it is evident that television stands to gain from convergence. It will actually have more reporters working for it since it shares a newspaper's reporting resources. Newspapers traditionally have had a higher number of reporters than television stations. Again, what suffers is the tradition competition between radio, television and print media.

Martin Kaiser, owner of the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, says his merged operation with WTMJ-TV and JSOnline has meant a change in policy. Now reporters who work for the *Journal Sentinel* have their stories published online first and then printed in the newspaper. Kaiser says *Journal Sentinel* reporters "often write early versions of stories specifically for jsonline.com" (13). The television station gets the heads-up on breaking news stories. Although they will beat the newspaper, they credit the paper for providing the information and remind viewers to get more comprehensive coverage in the next day's newspaper. The online operation, meanwhile, offers streaming audio and video to enhance to the newspaper reporter's stories.

From the reporter's point of view, resistance to convergence comes from concern that he or she is being expected to present information in more than one media without appropriate compensation. The urgency of production and presentation has increased with the proliferation of cable news and the Internet. Journalists also worry about the quality of content in a cooperative environment. While the Internet allows more and more people to be content providers, convergence of commercial media limits the degree of competitive checks that have long been the mainstay of a free exchange of ideas.

At the same time, some media stars – often columnists or television personalities – have come to embrace convergence. *Detroit Free Press* sports columnist Mitch Albom is one such example. Albom writes a column for the newspaper, has an afternoon radio show on WJR that is simulcasted on the cable news network MSNBC and appears from time to time on ESPN's Sunday morning show "The Sports Reporters." He also published *Tuesdays with Morrie*, a book that has been on the best-seller's list for half a decade. Albom represents the star track of multi-media journalism. The material wealth his journalism career has created contrasts markedly from the Tampa reporter who is being asked to file for the newspaper, TV station and Tampa Bay Online's Internet site. Thus, in the early stages of convergence, the development of a two-track system of multi-media practitioner exists – thoroughbreds like Albom or Cokie Roberts and donkeys like the anonymous reporter at the *Tampa Tribune*, *Orlando, Florida.*, *Sentinel*, *Lexington, Kentucky, Herald-Leader*, *San Jose, California, Mercury News* or *Miami Herald*, all of which operate multi-media journalism operations. An Albom or Roberts has become a brand name that audiences identify with, while less recognized journalists labor in obscurity and in a profession that has traditionally lagged behind several other American professions in terms of its perceived value to society. The wedge created by this two-track employment system deserves further examination in another paper. It must be noted here for future journalists that this two-tier system is in place and that it creates tensions in newsrooms.

Since no convergence theory exists yet, what other communication theories might inform a discussion of multi-media journalism? Among the theories that shed light on convergence are diffusion of innovations, sociology of the newsroom, gate-keeping and technological determinism.

Perhaps the biggest change in journalism in the last two decades is the inclusion of the computer as the primary tool in the journalist's arsenal. No longer are typewriters, notepads and telephones the dominant tools of the newsroom – although pads and phones are still omnipresent. The primary change that computers have brought to the news plant is the elimination of cold type paste-up jobs and the inclusion of printing jobs for employees in the newsroom. Thus, the majority of newsroom employees now spend a significant portion of their time performing computer-based operations that once were done by craft-based technicians. Today it is taken as the state of the newsroom that the manipulation of presentation software is part of a journalist's job. Never before were there graphics artists, some of whom today must also perform the role of cartographer. University of Oregon journalism professor John Russial notes: "Computers have streamlined pre-press operations, enabling newspapers to reap substantial savings in labor costs and overall page-production time, and they have enriched many newsroom jobs" (5). But how journalists describe this enrichment. This points to the need for a survey of journalists' attitudes toward technologies that have fundamentally changed their roles in the industry. Similarly, reporters who use e-mail and tap into databases from the Internet find themselves spending more and more time doing research that is abstract and less and less time interviewing sources in person. In a sense, the reporter finds himself performing some of the duties formerly assigned to news librarians.

Michael Piore and Charles Sabel introduced the concepts of flexible specialization and upskilling in their 1984 book *The Second Industrial Divide*. They maintain that in a rapidly changing market, labor must be capable of adapting to new challenges, including technological changes. In other words, flexible-use equipment like computers requires workers with multiple skills. Thus, flexible specialization enriches work by increasing laborer's skills. The authors call this upskilling.

Another way to look at what is occurring with automation is the differentiation of work between action-oriented and abstract skills. Harvard business professor Shoshana Zuboff argues that media technology can be divided between those that automate and those that "informate" (Zuboff 376). Automating replaces skills and is deskilling. Informating reduces the number of skills that require the journalist to take action. These skills are abstract and intellectual – largely cognitive – and enrich job performance. They are examples of upskilling. Again the question remains whether upskilling really enhances the professionalism of the journalist. Does upskilling simply mean that reporters and editor are expected to process more stories, more information? If so, what compensation from management has been afforded upskilled journalists? Of course, what is the effect of upskilling on the quality of journalism?

Russial also worries that journalists will have other software programs compromise journalistic professionalism. In particular, he fingers database marketing programs that provide readers with target stories. "Will database marketing, a too typically used by advertising and marketing departments, become journalism," Russial asks (17). Already, the *Los Angeles Times* is asking journalists to work with advertising to target readers.

Scholar Gaye Tuchman comes at journalism from the perspective that reality is socially constructed and that news is a social institution that serves society. Tuchman is among the many scholars who have looked at the newsroom in terms of routines, procedures, rules and relationships. News companies have definite sanctioned methods for gathering, editing and presenting the news to audiences. Thus, news is institutionalized, and convergence simply provides additional presentation skills to the job description. For instance, those who are primarily print journalists now are going to be expected to report on camera, meaning they need competent public speaking skills.

Singer says that the very nature of convergence presents challenges to the traditional news institutions, especially in terms of time and space. First, deadlines are no longer punctuated. They have become continuous instead of daily or twice daily. Second, the old routines of covering a specific beat as a place to be – police station, city hall or the university administration building – has been replaced by a thematic approach – such as law, politics and education.

Diffusion of innovations applies to convergence, especially in terms of journalists' attitudes toward performing across media. Merging three or more media has yet to reach a critical mass, primarily because the majority of media ownership has not come to the conclusion that the relative advantage of convergence outweighs the paradigm it would supersede. Journalism is at the point where media management, especially in smaller markets, will have to weigh the benefits of converging or not converging.

Yet practices by journalists who act as pioneers – or opinion leaders – cause other journalists to buy into technological convergence. "The investigative reporters who are already at the top of the newsroom food chain may now be winning prizes for stories based on online sources, stimulating interest in other reporters seeking to advance," Singer writes (1998, 6). Similarly, journalists are trying to decide how much interactivity to include in their routines. They already have to chase tips or rumors that emanate from the Internet and are having to respond to the public more than ever through the publication of their e-mail addresses.

The theory that seems in greatest contention because of convergence is gate-keeping. "It has been suggested that the identification and dissemination of what is worth knowing is the journalist's most basic and most vital task in a democratic society," writes Singer (1998, 3). The Internet allows for an engaged audience. Media consumers determine what information they want to use. Gate-keeping is now "placed at risk" as journalism's "primary sources become readily available to its audiences" (Hall, 53). Audiences, in effect, share in gate-keeping.

So what does this mean for journalists? Now they "see their role as credible interpreters of an unprecedented volume of available information" (Singer, 1998, 3). An appropriate survey question becomes do print journalists value the interpretive and analytical roles that television and the Internet leave them? And how does news judgment change as convergence emerges?

Another theory that partially resonates with convergence is technological determinism, the idea espoused by Marshall McLuhan that form precedes content. Technology is seen as the "central causal element in processes of social change" (Croteau, 301). It is the form of convergence – and the dominance of the computer – that shapes the communication environment. Convergence creates chunkier, non-linear, discrete information. Individual medium no longer serve audiences independently. Audiences are fragmented because there is no dominant medium; rather, media complement each other. Narrowcasting has won the day. Online journalism interacts with discrete audiences. As Singer observes about the Internet, "the very nature of storytelling may shift because of this new media form; hypertext may challenge the journalistic role by creating a personally involving narrative experience" which allows a more in-depth, comprehensive understanding of issues (Singer, 1998, 8-9).

Canadian journalist Sandy McMurray says that convergence "does not necessary lead to a partnership or union" (McMurray, 47). The journalist says there's a tendency to see convergence as the same thing as synergy, a state in which two or more things combine to do things that they cannot do alone. What newspapers get from their online editions is an ever-present news cycle. It remains to be seen how far convergence will progress. *New York Times* reporter Alice Hill notes that there is "seldom evidence of actual consumer demand" for converged technology (Hill, C3). The machine that combines television, Internet browser and cellular telephone may not make it because consumers prefer specialized products that perform well instead. A hybrid does not always become popular with consumers. Ultimately, the issue may not be how many gadgets can go in one box, but how well the box does many things well in less time.

Bob Haiman, a fellow at the Freedom Forum in Arlington, Virginia, says there's good news and bad news when it comes to convergence: "I actually think that convergence may end up being good for media companies. My fear is that it's going to end up being bad for journalism … When newspapers and television and the Internet converge, there is going to be a tremendous clash of values – the journalism values of newspapers, the entertainment values of television, and the no-holds-barred, raw, unedited, anarchic values of the Internet" (Smith, 4-5).

Methodology

This study relies on a survey of contemporary media practitioners and interviews with contemporary high school and college journalism instructors. Media practitioners are defined here as employees of companies that produce media content, including those from print, online, visual and audio media. The survey was given by e-mail during February and March of 2002 to 114 media practitioners in the United States. These practitioners worked at newspapers, television stations, wire services, magazines, radio stations and online publications. These journalists were selected randomly from Editor & Publisher and Yahoo lists of media companies in the U.S. Media Web sites were chosen from all regions of the country, including Alaska and Hawaii. Media were chosen on alternating basis between newspapers, magazines, television stations, radio stations and online (only) companies. A Web site would be chosen in a region for a newspaper, then a TV station, a radio station and online company. A name with a matching e-mail address was then randomly chosen from that operation, and the survey was e-mailed to that media practitioner.

Forty-one of those 114 responded for a response rate of 36 percent. Respondents represented the following states: California, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, Washington and Washington, D.C. There were no respondents from e-mails sent to companies in the Northern Plains, Southwest, Alaska or Hawaii. The survey questions given to the media professionals can be found in Appendix 1 below.

The interviews with college educators took place in the fall of 2001 and with high school teachers in the spring of 2002. These educators were asked about how they were preparing their students for a converged media environment. They were also asked about how they were including online journalism in their curricula and programs.

Findings: Scholastic journalism

The survey found that the relevance of journalism education is high. The majority of the journalists surveyed said they had both high school and college journalism experiences. Eighty-eight percent worked in high school media programs and 76 percent worked in college media operations. Lynn Kalber, a reporter for the *Palm Beach, Florida, Post*, had a representative experience. "I started on a newspaper staff in middle school and ended up being editor of my high school paper," Kalber said. "It was the reason I went into journalism" (Kalber, personal communication, Feb. 21, 2002). Since only 50 percent of the respondents said that their media companies offer some sort of educational opportunity for high school students, the significance of scholastic journalism to the industry is nothing less than substantial (see Table 3 below).

Yet high school journalism is often limited to schools that can afford equipment and have administrations that are willing to add communications programs into their curricula, while many programs struggle to survive as extracurricular activities. Robin Sawyer, the 2000 Dow Jones Newspaper Fund National High School Journalism Teacher of the Year, has one of the top scholastic media programs in North Carolina. She is aware of convergence, but finds it difficult to fit instruction for the emerging convergence of the media into her curriculum. "I do see the potential," said the Manteo High School teacher, "but we don't currently have the equipment and I don't have the training. And I'm pretty much overloaded with responsibilities as well. There is a new video editing class that's in its infancy. I can foresee a time when this class could become associated with my program and we could do more with convergence" Sawyer's Manteo program includes a newspaper, yearbook, literary magazine and a CD-Rom yearbook supplement. Her newspaper had a Web site with Highwired.com, but it went under. "We are about to get online again, and I foresee us using this site for other stories as well. I have a larger staff now than I've had in some time and some better trained people to manage an additional component. Previously, our small staff was unable to handle the published newspaper and a separate online version" (Sawyer, personal communication, March 28, 2002). Terry L. Sollazzo, adviser of the Tampa Wharton High School *Predator*, said that he has a similar problem juggling his schedule. "It is extremely difficult for us to find the time to post the info on the Web. They [students] are just so involved in their print publication" (Sollazzo, personal communication, April 1, 2002).

Jim Lang, the newspaper adviser at Floyd Central High School in Floyds Knobs, Indiana, hopes to be online in the next year or two, "but, truthfully, the biggest difficulty to adding an online component is time," he said. "Advising two student publications already makes it very difficult to find the appropriate time to set everything up. I've concluded that I must find the right students and send them to workshops so they learn the basics" (personal communication, April 1, 2002). Michelle Gideon, who advises the newspaper at Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, said time constraints and finding interested students to maintain the site led to the demise of the online *Courier*. "When we had the site, the benefits were that we received national feedback on our stories and editorials," Gideon said. "The format was an interactive once with our readers. It also connected us to more parents and graduates who welcome information about the school" (Gideon, personal communication, April 1, 2002). To demonstrate convergence to her students, Gideon said that she now has a unit in her curriculum in which they compare online media sites for content, packaging and cross-promotion.

Tony Willis, the journalism adviser at Carmel, Indiana, High School has seen his staff discover important uses for their online site. Their *HiLite* Web site (http://www.hilite.org/) is maintained throughout the year and is consistently updated, not just with the 18 editions of the print version of the paper but also with breaking news that occurs between publications. Furthermore, when breaking news occurs in down times like the summer or winter holiday breaks, Willis' staff is able to post stories on the site. Last summer, *HiLite*, the 1999 Columbia Scholastic Press Association Gold Crown winner that will enter the National Journalism Hall of Fame in November 2002, broke a school board-related story that occurred just after graduation, even scooping the *Indianapolis Star-News* in the process (Willis, personal communication, July 20, 2001).

High school teachers are finding that one of the major advantages of the Internet is that it can be a relatively inexpensive printing press. Fledging or struggling high school journalism programs are tapping into the Internet's enormous teaching potential without having to raise substantial sums of money for operation. Online reporting, writing, editing, design and visual production require the same basic skills as any other platform. Encouraging online journalism in schools or school districts where journalism is not currently being taught will increase the number of students in communications and has the potential to help diversify newsrooms. Furthermore, programs that are already doing well with newspapers and/or yearbooks can add the digital component to their program at little cost. Having a Web site will give high school journalism programs the ability to update stories instantly and teach students the rhythms and routines of today's media. State scholastic media associations can provide leadership in championing the development of online news sites for all journalism programs, and can share the knowledge with schools that do not have journalism programs.

Carla Sparks, adviser of the journalism program at Tampa Bay Technical High School in Tampa, offers courses in both print and visual media. Students have to learn to write for both media platforms. They also make their own video packages, appearing on camera, editing and even working behind the camera. While Tampa Bay Tech provides a place for the students to put their work on an official school Web site, Sparks says her students have little control over the site. "So far, I see no benefits of putting our work online other than it excites the students," Sparks said. "We are determined to continue the effort and make progress, as we known this is part of the future of journalism, and, therefore, is an important component of the program" (personal communications, April 1, 2002).

Once high school journalism teachers commit to online journalism, they will have to make their Web sites known to their potential readers. Manteo's Sawyer said attracting readers is a major hurdle. "I have resisted doing a Web site that wasn't specifically designed for high school journalism, because I felt it was a tremendous undertaking without much of a guarantee for readership" (Sawyer, personal communication, March 28, 2002). High school journalism staffs have to build public relations campaigns to get students to visit their Web sites. One way to accomplish this is by working to get the news site linked to all major educational sites within school systems – the high school itself, the local school district and the state. Even more important is establishing name recognition with an easy-to-remember domain name, and publicizing a site in and around campus. Asking librarians and computer lab instructors to have the publication as the home page is another way to direct traffic to the site. It would also be worthwhile to compile a list of student e-mail addresses and distribute news about the site and its URL through e-mail.

Professional practices

In a survey of media practitioners in the United States that asked across which platforms their companies transmit news, a few patterns emerged about the nature of convergence. Each of the 41 respondents said that his or her operation uses an online platform; 66 percent of the respondents said their operations use a newspaper format; 51

percent, a television format; 44 percent, a magazine format; and 27 percent, a radio format (Convergence Survey, 2002; See Table 1 below). This would suggest that the Internet is the most commonly utilized platform. Perhaps this is the case because most media companies still provide their Web sites for free, thus making the Internet the preferred platform for information dissemination. The survey also found that the most likely merging of media occurred when online combined with newspapers, and the greatest number of respondents said their media companies were currently working across two platforms, usually newspaper and online media. Using three platforms – usually online, newspapers and television – had the second highest number of respondents. Thus, in general, convergence today usually means either a media company that combines newspaper and online operations or newspaper, online and TV operations.

The survey respondents said that the biggest changes facing content providers in converged operations include the following: (1) working in more than one platform and reporting for more than one news cycle in the same day – or, rather, the disappearance of the traditional newspaper and television news cycles and the movement toward the 24-hour, all-news AM radio format; (2) reporting in front of a video camera; (3) being able to report for the Internet, video and print; (4) working at a faster pace; (5) working on many tasks simultaneously; and (6) breaking stories in real time (Bulla, "UF Convergence Survey 2002").

Diane McFarlin, editor of the *Sarasota, Florida, Herald Tribune*, said three types of writing are expected of today's journalists. "Reporters should know how to write for print, TV and the Web," McFarlin said, "although they don't write for all three platforms in all instances. In some cases, it makes sense for one reporter and/or one photographer to cover a story for all three media. In other cases, specialists from both print and TV are assigned" (McFarlin, personal communication, March 24, 2002).

Several respondents said employees who work primarily in digital production are expected to work long hours and are sometimes asked to work over night when stories are expected to break or have major updates. Several respondents pointed to the development of cross-platform graphics as a new feature of the converged media environment. "Journalists need to be able to imagine ways of telling stories across multiplatforms," said Keith Woods, a researcher at the Poynter Institute in St. Petersburg, Florida. "They must be able to think visually and, in some cases, tell stories in other media" (Woods, personal communication, Feb. 21, 2002). Woods and several other respondents said seeing the graphic potential for the online and video platform is another new cognitive task for the multimedia journalist, as is the gathering of URLs of relevant Web sites for online presentation.

Greg Williams, art director for design at the *Tampa Tribune*, says that convergence has not yet affected those who design newspapers and magazines as much as it has reporters, editors and photographers. However, he said the 24-7 news cycle occasionally has a big impact on design. For example, when John Gruden was named the Tampa Bay Buccaneers' football coach in February 2002, the *Tampa Tribune* had to develop a strategy for covering the coach's signing. Gruden, who grew up in Tampa, had been coach of the National Football League's Oakland Raiders. Readers of the Tampa newspaper already knew about Gruden leaving the Raiders and signing with the Bucs because it happened early in the day. Editors and reporters deciding what stories to produce for the next day had to keep this in mind. "The main headline on A-1 was

'Welcome Home,' and many of our readers understood this," Williams said. "They already knew that from the Internet and television, but some readers had not" (Williams, personal communication, Feb. 19, 2002). Williams wondered if Gruden's name needed to be somewhere in the main headline. It only appeared in a caption underneath a photograph below the fold.

Speed has always been a major factor in journalism in a free-market economy. However, the emergence of cable television and Internet news has intensified the alacrity with which information is delivered to audiences. "People don't want to wait for news anymore," said Grant Heston, an online editor of the *Orlando Sentinel*, "and will go wherever they think they can get the latest updates quickest." Heston says getting information quickly to feed to a media company's Internet news site is critical (Heston, personal communication, March 20, 2002). Les Blatt of Newstream.com, a business Web site, said the news cycle is never-ending: "The pressure to be first and to get the story right is constant. There is also less time for chasing leads" (Blatt, personal communication, March 25, 2002).

Another major component of convergence is sharing resources. Newspaper and television reporters have often seen their jobs in diverging ways, in large part because of the natures of each medium. Newspaper reporters work in a platform where written words and symbols convey meaning; television reporters work in a platform where spoken words and video convey meaning. Newspaper writers tend to appeal more to the analytical and deliberate faculties in their readers' minds; TV reporters tend to appeal more to the immediate and emotional in their viewers. With one media corporation owning several platforms in a particular city and often putting them in the same building, TV and print journalists are learning to share sources and resources. Reporters "have to understand the sharing arrangements with our TV partnership with which we used to be very competitive," said Margo Pope, editor of the *St. Augustine, Florida, Record*. "We share one story a day and even at that, there is a lot of skepticism. Convergence is a trust-building relationship; it has to be or it won't work" (Pope, personal communication, Feb. 22, 2002). The resistance to a cooperative effort remains high at many converged companies. "At the very least, employees are expected to 'tolerate' working with the former enemy," said Victoria Lim, who is a consumer affairs reporter for WFLA-TV, the *Tampa Tribune* and TBO.com (personal communication, March 26, 2002).

As more and more journalists are expected to perform across platforms, they are starting to feel the pressure of higher professional expectations. "I'm the only reporter who reports on all three platforms on an almost daily basis, so my time is much busier – I'm working at a much faster pace," Tampa's Lim said. "The details, interviews, information, scope of the story are much more than if I was still working for the television station." Lim no longer thinks just in terms of reporting on the air. "Instead of just writing a package for whatever newscast your story is in, and then perhaps a cut-down version of the story for another newscast, you may also need to provide a briefing – or write the article yourself – to the *Tampa Tribune*, and if you think of any [relevant] Web sites, you need to coordinate with TBO.com to have it posted." She says time management skills are critical to success in her job (Lim, personal communication, March 26, 2002).

Implications for education

What practices, skills, ideas and attitudes should journalism educators teach their students about contemporary media? "They should be taught the theory of convergence and how coverage on multiple platforms can be more complementary and complete than on a single platform," Sarasota's McFarlin said. "They should be taught how to write for all media and how to shoot stills and video, then be encouraged to specialize in what they do best. It's also essential that all journalists be well schooled in ethics and media law" (personal communication, March 24, 2002).

Ed Gubar, a journalism professor at Indiana University, teaches a course that combines two classes, one in magazine writing and the other in Web development. Each student writes a series of publishable articles on a theme and constructs a Web site that will feature these articles. The class's Web magazines are then published on Indiana's School of Journalism site. Gubar wants his students to be savvy about publishing opportunities on the Web, but he also admits that what journalism students really need is a strong foundation in writing. Asked what the ideal journalism school curriculum would be, Gubar replied: "Writing, ethics, writing, law, writing, history, writing, media reality, writing" (Gubar, personal communication, Oct. 30, 2001).

Tampa's Lim echoed Gubar's thoughts when asked about what should be learned in journalism classes: "Writing, writing, writing. If you can write well, you will always have a job in some medium" (Lim, personal communication, March 26, 2002). Richard Jenkins, who works for Microsoft.com, said that the same skills that worked in journalism before convergence still work today: "It has always been valuable for print journalists to have broadcast experience, but as interview subjects rather than producers.

The main skill that I find lacking in many of the journalists I work with has nothing to do with convergence. It's a lack of critical thinking skills" (R. Jenkins, personal communication, March 24, 2002). Paul Hechinger of Court TV said the "more skills the better – with one warning: don't focus on computer and technology skills to the extent that it eats into the time spent on teaching basic reporting" (personal interview, March 26, 2002).

Several of the respondents said that learning analytical thinking skills was more important than learning how to use specific media software. These respondents said media companies should do the training in specific software programs, although those who are concerned with design issues said that journalism students should know how to use Quark Express and PhotoShop. No consensus emerged as to whether or not journalism instruction should include the teaching of HTML or Web site construction programs like DreamWeaver, though a large number or respondents thought HTML ought to be taught by educators, as well as video editing and basic photography. In student focus groups conducted at the University of Florida in the spring of 2002, a majority of the participants said all journalism students should be required to have online training (Dodd, 1).

David Doucette, editor for *Retail Construction Magazine* in Atlanta, echoed Gubar. "The reality, I think, is simply that journalists need to remember that they are information-gatherers," Doucette said. "How the information is distributed is secondary. The basic 'product' is still news and information. Many of us tend to get wrapped up in the technology delivery system and lose sight of the basic journalism that is supposed to happen." Doucette adds that we are too "infatuated with the current technology"

(Doucette, personal communication, March 19, 2002). He says we are putting too much emphasis on teaching software programs and not enough on the basics of reporting, writing and editing. Blatt of Newstream.com agreed: "Most news organizations would prefer to get competent journalists and teach them the technologies themselves," Blatt said. "With all due respect, J-schools do not always have access to the same equipment, which varies from company to company anyway" (personal communication, March 25, 2002).

Lisa Faust of *Shreveport, Louisiana, Times* takes a broader view of journalism skills in a converged environment. "Multi-tasking and critical thinking are the key things," she said, echoing Lim and Richard Jenkins. She also adds a few specific skills, including operating a video camera and digital recorder. "More important is learning how to tell a story in a non-linear fashion. The days of writing 50-inch stories are gone! They need to know how to break stories into pieces and use all of the media available to give the reader the story in the best presentation possible for that part of the story" (Faust, personal communication, March 25, 2002). Other respondents said the most important to teach today's journalism students is how to use the Internet for research. Discovering databases, phone numbers and e-mail addresses of potential sources, and credible information from a seemingly countless number of sites requires an enterprising, discerning mind.

Kay Quinn, who owns a public relations firm in Gainesville, Florida, says that today's students need to understand how "converged media tools and coverage impact readers, sources and journalists, in terms of accuracy, competitiveness and privacy concerns. Are the sources and information always credible?" Quinn worries that sharing more information presents problems for accuracy and credibility (personal communication, Feb. 21, 2002). Likewise, Singer, the University of Iowa professor, found in a series of case studies of U.S. newsrooms that journalists now are more concerned about "interpretation and quality control" of the information they process (1997, 73). Today's media practitioners see themselves more and more in the role of providing information that is better than their competitors. Today's journalist "seeks to provide information whose quality distinguishes it from the rest and second, makes sense of the information that *is* out there" (Singer, 1997, 86).

The University of Kansas was an early adopter of a convergence-based curriculum. KU's School of Journalism hired Freedom Forum fellow Christopher Ryan to implement an extensive convergence plan that extensively impacted the KU curriculum. Ryan built a Web database publishing environment that serves KU student media and promotes the use of the Internet for classroom management. Professors there have the ability to put syllabi, class notes, schedules, reading lists, homework assignments, shared ideas, mailing lists, forums and updates on the Web. "KU's journalism school does not have a specific new media program, but new media curricula are integrated into each track" (Outing, 49). The Kansas program is perhaps the most closely attuned to the converged media environment that is gradually spreading throughout the country. Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, recently completed a new communications building that features an integrated multi-media lab approach, and Indiana University has added a multimedia lab that puts photography, broadcast and design technology in one room (Nienberg, 1).

Doucette says that journalism education ought to focus "on the basics of news – what it is, how to report it, how to explain it. Today's graduates will face incredible technology changes in their careers. There's no way the J-school can prepare students for that learning curve. However, the J-school can instill a deep understanding of the news. The school can teach an appreciation of serving the readers' information needs. The school can teach an open-minded view of change and coping with it" (Doucette, personal communication, March 19, 2002). Pope agrees, saying that the contemporary journalism student needs to be well versed in the basics of reporting and writing. The "ability to work in the broadcast environment" and "knowledge of online writing" are essential for today's journalists working in converged operations, Pope said (personal communication, Feb. 22, 2002). Doris Bloodsworth, a criminal justice reporter for the *Orlando Sentinel*, says journalists' essential job is to write stories. "The most important thing is to master the basics of telling a good story. Everything else flows from there" (Bloodsworth, personal communication, March 26, 2002).

Kris Hey, the online editor of the *Orlando Sentinel*, says aspiring journalists should learn how to do basic news reporting and writing, editing, headline writing and how to write HTML. Hey adds, "be a team player and learn to work with all facets of the newspaper and television industry" (Hey, personal communication, March 20, 2002). Tom Barnes of Central Florida News 13 in Orlando observed that on-camera performance is becoming a central part of journalism. Barnes suggests that "today's journalism student take a TV performance class, and some public speaking courses in order to be comfortable in front the camera. Don't overlook courses that teach writing for television and television news" (Barnes, personal communication, March 20, 2002).

Conclusion

The respondents said flexibility is critical in journalism today; they also said that the basics of effective journalism remain the same. "The media world today is changing every minute because of new technologies," said Tom Burton, chief photographer of the *Orlando Sentinel*. "The job skills that will remain constant are the abilities to be good storytellers, to be articulate with your communication skills, to be connected to the news that is important to your audience" (Burton, personal communication, Feb. 21, 2002). Ed Barber, general manager of the ***Independent Florida Alligator*** in Gainesville, Florida, advises journalism students to do five things: (a) read frequently; (b) learn to write for an audience; (c) become avid researchers; (d) take every available English course that they can fit into their schedules; and (e) allow themselves to be independent thinkers. "It is you who must do the work to create the work," Barber said. "Try to allow yourself time to let some things come together through your subconscious" (Barber, personal communication, Feb. 21, 2002). Microsoft's Jenkins advises today's student to get their "credentials in traditional media first, then go online if you want to. You'll never get taken seriously if all your experience is online" (R. Jenkins, personal communication, March 24, 2002).

WFLA's Lim said that while there are several negatives associated with careers in journalism – including low pay, unusual hours and being judged by things beyond the journalist's control – there are some advantages to a media career:

> You will be a constant observer of history. You will get to see, hear and learn – firsthand – about events that affect the lives of you and your community, even the world. You will get to experience events that people can only dream of – meeting icons, flying with the blue devils, watch the political process as it unfolds, witness life and death. You will create something every day – a story. You will meet new people every day. You will learn something new every day. This job can take you places you've never been – whether in your own backyard or all

> the way around the world. In good and bad ways, you can change lives (Lim, personal communication, March 26, 2002).

Carl Sullivan, editor of *Editor & Publisher Online*, reminds young journalists of how valuable communications is in a democratic society. "It's not an easy or necessarily a profitable career, but it's one that plays a vital role in our society and one that can afford someone the opportunity to really make a difference" (Sullivan, personal communication, March 25, 2002).

Not every high school journalism program can afford a full-blown approach to convergence. Resources are limited. The survey found that the greatest number of platforms used by today's professional operations is only two (See Table 3 below). Thus, in working towards practical convergence education, scholastic journalism educators would be wise to expand one medium at a time. For example, yearbook advisers and newspaper advisers, both representatives of print journalism, may find that a digital platform is the best second platform to incorporate into their programs. While establishing and maintaining an online site is time-consuming, its advantage is that it is relatively cheap and it enables students to apply an array of skills, including design, photography, reporting, writing and editing. Online sites also can take advantage of both audio and video through streaming technology. Then going to the next step to a third medium can be undertaken after the second medium is well developed and permanently established.

In closing, journalism teachers need to redesign their programs and their curricula to take into account the changes in an industry that is now communicating across media platforms. Teaching students to tell stories for print, visual and digital platforms will gradually become a priority in journalism education. Already, Jerry Lanson of Emerson

College and Barbara Croll Fought of Syracuse University have written one of the first textbooks designed for the teaching of reporting in a converged environment. *News in a New Century* includes a chapter on covering the same event for radio (audio), television (audio and video), print and online. Their textbook emphasizes the basics of reporting, but shows "how technology has expanded the reporter's toolbox" (Fought, xxiii). They point the way toward ending the lines separating print, broadcast and online departments.

Journalism educators also have to continue to communicate the possibilities of the profession. "If you aren't head-over-hills passionate about reporting, forget it," said the *Orlando Sentinel's* Bloodsworth (personal communication, March 26, 2002). Many high school journalism teachers already convey that sense of passion for communication, and now they are faced with finding ways to incorporate print, online and video opportunities into the educational experiences of their students. The day of medium monopoly is over. Preparing a converged media will require discreet choices about how to use available resources while teaching the basics of journalism and giving a sampling of the technology that today's industry is using. It also means that both media companies and high school journalism educators must become even closer in their partnerships.

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Table 1 – Breakdown by medium

N=41

Professional respondents whose operations work in a ________ platform:

Medium	Respondents	Percent
Radio	11	27%
Television	21	51%
Magazines	18	44%
Newspapers	27	66%
Online	41	100.0%

Table 2 – Number of media platforms used by each company

	Number	Percent
Using five platforms:	3	7%
Using four platforms:	7	17%
Using three platforms:	12	29%
Using two platforms:	14	35%
Using one platform:	5	12%
Using zero platforms:	0	0%
Totals:	N=41	100%

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Table 3 – Media companies and education

1. Does your media company work with high school journalism students?

Yes	Percent	No	Percent	Total Respondents
24	59%	17	41%	41

2. Were you a member of a high school journalism (media) program?

Yes	Percent	No	Percent	Total Respondents
36	88%	5	12%	41

3. Were you a member of college journalism (media) program?

Yes	Percent	No	Percent	Total Respondents
31	76%	10	24%	41

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Appendix 1 – Professional practitioners' survey

Convergence survey

University of Florida
College of Journalism and Communications
Spring 2002

Your name:
Your media company:
Location:
E-mail address:
Telephone number:

Survey questions

1. What media platforms does your company include in its operation (check each one):

___ Television
___ Radio
___ Newspaper
___ Magazine
___ Online

2. What are the primary ways that journalists' everyday routines have changed because of media convergence?

3. What are the primary effects of the 24-7 news cycle on the journalists in your media company?

4. What converged skills are employees in your company expected to be able to perform?

5. How do they learn these skills?

6. What skills should colleges of journalism teach all of their students in order to prepare them for the multi-media (converged) journalism experiences they will face in their professional careers?

7. One major concern is getting top students to go into the media. What is your organization doing to encourage high school journalism programs?

8. Were you a member of a high school publication (newspaper, yearbook, magazine)? How did that affect your career decision?

9. Were you a member of a college media organization (newspaper, magazine, radio station, TV station)? How did that affect you career decision?

10. What advice would you give aspiring journalists (especially high school and college students) about the media world they want to enter?

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people for their help in this study: Dr. Leonard Tipton of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications; Ed Barber of the *Independent Florida Alligator* in Gainesville, Florida; Doris Bloodsworth of the *Orlando Sentinel*; Tom Burton, also of the *Orlando Sentinel*; Lynn Kalber of the *Palm Beach Post*; Tom Kennedy of the *Washington Post*; Victoria Lim of WFLA-TV in Tampa; Pat Mitchell of the *Tampa Tribune*; Margo Pope of the *St. Augustine Record*; Kay Quinn of Morgan & Quinn in Gainesville; Kevin Walsh of the Associated Press; Keith Woods of the Poynter Institute; and Dr. Julie Dodd of the University of Florida College of Journalism and Communications.

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Is it the grades or the goods?
Instructor and course ratings: A Self Determination Theory perspective

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August, 2002

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Abstract:

Two hundred and sixty eight undergraduates were asked to recall a course that was important to them and their goals (n=268). They were then asked to rate the instructor and the course as well as respond to several items the measured psychological needs. Sex, age, size of the class and grade received in the course were controlled for in hierarchical regressions. Consistent with Self Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000), fulfilling the needs of autonomy competence and relatedness predicted instructor approval. Autonomy and competence also were shown to predict course approval. Implications for instructors and their courses are discussed as well.

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Is it the grades or the goods?

Instructor and course ratings: A Self Determination Theory perspective

Instructors at all levels have struggled with the issue of how to provide a positive learning experience for their students. Should they be distant and professional or should they "buddy up" to the students? Should they attempt to fill their students with knowledge or should they just ease up on the work load? Do their students appreciate the information they have learned throughout a course or do they look at the bottom line only: the grade received?

A number of researchers have reviewed and tested a seemingly endless string of variables in an attempt to answer these questions. While some general ideas have been shown to surface in a number of studies, there remains little in the way of a consensus as to what will help students report positive assessments of their courses and their instructors. Knowledge, enthusiasm, organization, classroom management, fairness, openness and encouragement (Feldman, 1976) have been found to be positively correlated with students' views of good teaching. The level of learning value, instructor enthusiasm, group interaction, individual rapport, clarity, coverage, grading, and workload (Marsh, 1987) also have been shown to be predictors of ratings of college teachers. A variety of other research (Best & Addison, 2000; Centra, 1973, 1977; Marlin & Niss, 1980; Marlin, 1987; Schmelkin, Spencer & Gellman, 1997) has found a variety of other results.

Given the vast array of contributing variables, we hoped to present an overarching model that would help focus the issue. We believe that the use of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 1991, 2000), which applies psychological need satiation to human motivation, will provide that framework and act as a clearer guidebook for instructors. This theory posits that when an individual's need for autonomy, competence and relatedness is fulfilled, the individual will feel a greater sense

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of achievement, a higher level of motivation and a better overall attachment to the experience. SDT has shown to be effective in helping people to accept organizational change (Gagne, Koestner & Zuckerman, 2000), diminish stress (Kasser & Ryan, 1996) and learn better (Black & Deci, 2000; Connell & Wellborn, 1991).

Educational cynics, however, point the question students most often ask as the true measure of what students want in a class: "Do we have to know this for the test?" Rather than learning for learning sake (Ryan & Stiller, 1991), students are often seen as working for a grade. In other words, rather than finding themselves intrinsically motivated, they seek a reward-based acknowledgement of their achievement.

We hope to demonstrate that many students who are approaching adulthood are far more in tune with their basic educational and psychological needs. While we acknowledge that grades are a factor in how well a student rates an educational experience, we also believe that students who find their needs fulfilled will be more likely to enjoy a learning experience. To that end, we hope to expand upon our earlier work (Filak & Sheldon, 2002) by returning to SDT as a measure of students' feelings regarding their experience in a course, but hope to clearly demonstrate that the satiation of these needs, regardless of a grade, will also help predict course and instructor ratings.

Literature Review

Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan 1985, 1991, 2000; Also see Ryan & Deci, 2000) argues that three components comprise the basic motivational and psychological needs of the individual: autonomy, competence and relatedness. In terms of education, the research shows that by fulfilling these three needs, students will be more open to learning and will rate the experience higher than those students whose needs go unmet.

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These needs are additive in nature, meaning that while one or two needs will allow students to grow and improve, the compilation of all three needs will allow students to fully realize their potential and thereby, feel effective in their education. Ryan (1995) uses the analogy of a plant that needs soil, water and sunlight to grow properly. While one of these needs, for example water, might be the most important of the three, it is clear that if the plant is to flourish, it will require the presence of the other two elements. Therefore, unlike previous research in this area (Black & Deci, 2000; Deci, Nezlek & Sheinman, 1981), we are looking beyond the importance of autonomy support and viewing the needs as a collective in this study. We posit that the student who will rate the course and the instructor highest will be the student who feels that each of these needs has been satisfied.

> Hypothesis 1: Autonomy, competence and relatedness will positively predict course ratings when controlling for age, sex, grade received and size of class.
>
> Hypothesis 2: Autonomy, competence and relatedness will positively predict instructor ratings when controlling for age, sex, grade received and size of class.

Autonomy, defined by Deci and Ryan (1985) as when a person "feels free from pressures, such as rewards or contingencies" (p. 29), has been the focal point of many pieces of motivation research. This can also be demonstrated in an educational setting as interactive learning, rather than a controlled learning environment (Black & Deci, 2000). A number of other researchers (Glasser, 1998; Passe, 1995; Zimmerman, 1989) have discussed the benefits of allowing students to choose the content. In some cases, the students may have a role in how they are being taught; in other cases, the student might have a choice in the curriculum itself. In each case, however, the students are offered a chance to make their feelings on the material known. Glasser (1998) calls it "choice theory," in which students are allowed to engage in selection within the classroom in everything from assignments to class rules. Passe (1996) argues that

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instructors who fail to take student input into account are bound to end up with students who find the work boring and irrelevant. For this reason, he argues, students must have some autonomy in order for them to engage the material. Ryan and Connell (1989) found that students who reported feeling controlled in the learning environment were less likely to enjoy school, while those with relatively more autonomy in the classroom were more likely to report enjoying the learning experience. Benware and Deci (1984) found that college students who learned information that they planned to apply were more likely to be intrinsically motivated than students who learned the material to be tested on it. Deci, Nezlek, and Sheinman (1981) looked at a group of students in fourth through sixth grade and examined how autonomy support for the teacher could affect the students. In that study, the authors found that teachers who used controlling methods had students who were less intrinsically motivated than students who had teachers who used informational methods. These and other studies illustrate clearly that if students are to succeed in internalizing the values that they are learning, they must be given some sort of autonomy. By internalizing and engaging the material, students begin to feel more connected to the material and thereby often enjoy the experience more than those who work for external rewards, such as grades.

Autonomy support has been found to be attained in three ways: offering choices wherever possible, explaining why choice isn't possible and trying to take the subordinate's perspective (Deci, Eghrari, Patrick & Leone, 1994; Zuckerman, Porac, Lathin, Smith & Deci, 1978). Choice offering is a practice that allows the students to learn the skills needed to succeed while still giving them input as to what they must learn. The instructor draws up the parameters of the assignment and the student is allowed freedom within those parameters. This can be as simple as an instructor allowing a class vote to see when an assignment is due or providing a list of acceptable paper topics, instead of just offering one topic.

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The explanation of why choice isn't possible can also allow students to feel supported. It is not always possible to pass all the students, eliminate all the tests or do away with grades. Therefore, it becomes of paramount importance to have a solid explanation for each action that is taken. As Ryan, Kuhl and Deci (1997) explain, autonomy is not independence or total freedom, but rather a unification of all parts into an organization by which each part is allowed to take action. In simpler terms, it is not about a person doing what ever he wants, but rather the ability to function in a way in which he sees fit within the confines of a set of values and the ability to see how his function is key within the larger whole.

Taking the subordinate's perspective also helps the instructors shape foster a sense of camaraderie with the students and improve an active and open dialogue within the classroom (Deci, Eghrari, Patrick & Leone, 1994). As the student asks why, the teacher can intelligently answer the question, not only for the student, but also for him or herself. This will allow greater understanding of the issue between the authority figure and subordinate. Understanding by the questioner and the respondent can help reach a consensus of reason (Heider, 1958) and can also help strengthen the bond between the interactants. If both people are "on the same page," not only will the feelings of a connection grow, but feelings that there is an absence of hierarchy. As shown in previous studies, when there is a controlling, authoritarian situation, the intrinsic motivation is severely impaired (Flink, Boggiano & Barrett, 1990)

Competence, which Deci and Ryan define as "a need for having an effect, for being effective in one's interactions with the environment," has also been examined by numerous researchers under numerous terms. White (1959) argued that people have an inner need to feel as though they can effectively control situations in which they find themselves. The need, he wrote, is internal and is a driving force. deCharms (1968) wrote that people have a distinct need to perceive themselves as the locus of causality if they are to feel competence in their interactions with others. Deci and Ryan (1985)

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argue that "the need for competence provides the energy for ... learning." (p. 27) Paris and Byrnes (1989) note that "a central feature of children's educational experience is understanding their own academic abilities."

The struggle to attain competence begins at an early age with rote activities. The child learns how to move, then how to crawl and then how to walk. Every activity from tying his shoes to reading her book is a function of competence. Children repeat these activities until they have mastered them and then continue the process in order to demonstrate their mastery. This gives them a sense of satisfaction until the activity is no longer considered a challenge. At that point, they look toward new challenges (Stipek, 1988). Blumenfeld, Pintrich and Hamilton (1986) found that by the time students reached sixth grade, they felt competent or incompetent based on their grades. McCombs (1989) argues that a great deal of how a student feels about him or herself comes from extrinsic forces. Failure to attain the "proper" level of achievement in academic or social settings as determined by the group the individual wishes to be judged by can result in diminished self esteem and a lack of feeling competent. In testing students with above-average intelligence, Miserandino (1996) found that students who perceived themselves to lack competence were less likely to do well and were more likely to have negative affect in describing their school experience. Other researchers (Phillips, 1984, for one) have found similar results with regard to perceived incompetence.

To aid competence, researchers have suggested that leaders give subordinates positive feedback regarding performance. Deci, Cascio and Krusell (1975) found that intrinsic motivation in college-age men increased when positive feedback was given. Conversely, they found that negative feedback inhibited intrinsic motivation and created a sense of dislike of the activity and the instructor. The feedback reinforces mastery of a task and thereby allows the students to feel competent (Blanck, Reis & Jackson, 1984; Ryan, 1982). Rewarding the student in a way that shows mastery, such as praise for a good job, can create that intrinsic motivation (Lepper, 1981). Deci,

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Vallerand, Pelletier and Ryan (1991) argue that positive feedback, directly tied to a self-initiated and intrinsically motivated task, can promote intrinsic motivation and spur on the desire to learn. However, praising them for what they have been told to do or what they are expected to do can lower the intrinsic motivation by reinforcing non-autonomous behavior. Lepper and others also caution that the reward should not be tangible (money for grades) but should rather be symbolic of the action. In other words, the reward must not be controlling, such as the instructor who promises to let all the students go early if they get As on today's quiz. The reward also must be tied directly to the performance to reinforce the value of the action. If the reward doesn't coincide with the desired action, it is unlikely to be reinforced.

The third and final piece of self-determination theory is relatedness, in which a need to feel a connection to others feeds into the motivation. Ryan and Deci (2000) explain that when a feeling of security is present, such as that between a mother and child, intrinsic motivation is far more likely to occur than if there is no connection, such as when a child would be in the presence of a stranger who is showing no interest in the child. Others have described it as the need to feel connected and worthy of benefits afforded to them by others (Connell & Wellborn, 1991). While these and other researchers explain that intrinsic motivation can occur in isolation, if the presence of others is injected, a feeling of relatedness can aid intrinsic motivation. In the Flink, Boggiano and Barrett (1990) study, teachers were pressured to get students to perform. This led to not only controlling actions, but also a sense of separation. Teachers dictated behavior, students were to follow. There was no interaction along the lines of relatedness. In the non-pressure group, learning was shown to improve, as teachers who weren't under the gun to have students achieve high scores were more likely to relate better to students. Relatedness develops from the interest in communicating and interacting with others on a level playing field (Ryan & Deci 2000; Miserandino, 1996). Rather than finding themselves in a hierarchical learning environment, students who

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feel a sense of relatedness will be more likely to interact with the teacher, giving both parties a chance to connect as individuals. This kind of individual connection can improve the enjoyment of a task or lesson (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

In sum, the work in the area of Self Determination Theory has demonstrated that if individuals are to engage in a learning environment and feel positive toward the activity in which they are participating, an instructor must satiate their basic psychological needs. By fulfilling the need for autonomy, competence and relatedness, the instructor can not only improve the student's liking of the course but also help the student reach a level of intrinsic motivation that will allow students to learn for learning's sake.

Methods

The survey was administered to 273 students in an undergraduate social science class at a large Midwestern university during the beginning of Winter Semester 2002. The majority of the students were in their sophomore year and more than half of them were either 18 or 19 years old. The course was not required and students came from a variety of undergraduate majors. Five students returned the instrument with missing data and they were excluded, leaving 268 students to be analyzed (n=268). Students were asked to think back on a class they took in the previous semester that was most important to their goals and ambitions. Those students who did not take classes the previous semester were asked to think back to the last class they took that fit these parameters. The students were then asked to rate their sense of agreement with several statements regarding that class and its instructor.

The survey instrument was based on the Basic Psychological Needs Scale (Ilardi, Leone, Kasser, & Ryan, 1993). While the language of the questions was adapted to fit a classroom setting, the core issues and intent of the questions were preserved. These

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items had also shown promise in our earlier work (Filak & Sheldon, 2002) and an attempt to replicate those findings also influenced our decision regarding these items. Five-point Likert scales were used for each statement. The autonomy items were: "I feel like I had a lot of input in deciding how to learn in this class," "I was free to express my opinions in this class," and "The teacher took my perspective into consideration in this class" (alpha = .83). The competence items were: "I enjoyed the challenges this class has provided," and "Most days I felt a sense of accomplishment from doing work in this class," and "I do not think the tasks I did in this class were very stimulating" (reversed; alpha = .81). The relatedness items were: "The teacher cared about me and my progress," "The teacher was pretty friendly towards me," and "I don't feel the teacher understood me" (reversed; alpha = .77).

As dependent measures, we asked students to rate the excellence of the course and teacher and whether they would recommend each to a friend. Four items were used: "Overall, this teacher was excellent" and "I would recommend this teacher to a friend," and also "Overall, this was an excellent class" and "I would recommend this class to a friend." These questions are the same as those asked on the "official" teacher evaluation form that students are asked to complete each semester and measured on a similar scale. Composite teacher approval and Class approval variables were created by averaging the two items for each (alphas = .92 and .92, respectively).

Students were also asked to recall approximately how many people were enrolled in the course, what grade they received in the course and what scholastic area the course was in.

Results

After running initial data cleaning procedures to check for missing data and outliers, the data were screened a second time for normality, linearity and

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homoscedasticity. The data fit the requirements for parametric data analysis and, therefore, we commenced further analyses. Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics of the variables used in this study.

A hierarchical regression was used to control for sex, age, class size and grades. The composite variables created by combining the questions that measured autonomy, competence and relatedness were added in a second block. Each of these variable sets was run in separate regressions against the two dependent variables: rating of teacher and rating of class.

Hypothesis 1 stated that autonomy, competence and relatedness would predict positive course ratings when controlling for grades, size of the lecture, sex and age. The regression measuring the rating of the class (adj. R-square = .110) demonstrated that neither age nor sex nor course size was a significant predictor. The grade received in the course, however, did significantly predict the overall rating of the course (beta = .309, p < .0001). Adding autonomy, competence and relatedness to the second block, however, produced a much stronger regression (adj. R-square = .581). Grades remained a significant predictor (p < .05) but its impact on the regression strongly diminished (beta = .092). The size of class became a significant predictor in this regression as well (beta = .135, p < .01), with larger classes faring better than smaller ones.

Of the three SDT variables, competence was the strongest predictor (beta = .569, p < .0001), followed by autonomy (beta = .213, p < .0001; See also TABLE 2). Relatedness, however, did not prove to be a significant factor in course approval. This stands to reason, as relatedness measures connection between individuals and we have measured it as such. As we found in our previous study, relatedness does not predict the positive rating of the course itself. Therefore, hypothesis one is partially supported.

Hypothesis two stated that autonomy, competence and relatedness would predict positive instructor evaluations, when controlling for age, sex, the grade received and the size of the course. We again used a hierarchical regression to assess the validity of this

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hypothesis. The initial regression demonstrated that sex, age and course size were not significant predictors of instructor ratings. The grade in the course again demonstrated significant predictive power (beta = .333, p < .0001). As was the case with the earlier regression, adding autonomy, competence and relatedness to the regression in the second block created a stronger model (adj. R-square = .503). Grades remained a significant predictor of instructor ratings (beta = .118, p < .05), but again the beta weights had diminished by more than half. The size of class variable was also significant in this model (beta = .172, p < .01)

Again, competence was the strongest predictor of the three SDT variables and the strongest predictor in the entire model (See Table 3). Autonomy and relatedness also were significant and strong predictors, holding the second and third highest beta weights, respectively. Based on this analysis, hypothesis two was supported.

Conclusion

This study builds significantly on previous research (Black & Deci 2000; McCombs, 1989; Zimmerman, 1989) in a number of ways. First, the elements of Self-Determination Theory were shown to positively predict instructor and course ratings, demonstrating that instructors who hope to reach their students need to consider these needs during instruction. It is also one of the few times that these needs were measured at the collegiate level and as a set. Many previous studies examine autonomy support (Black & Deci, 2000; Ryan & Stiller, 1991) without regard to either of the remaining needs. This study clearly demonstrates that all three needs play a role in educational communication and contact. Second, it clarifies a good deal of the work done in educational research regarding what makes for a good educational experience. By applying SDT to education, we are able to demonstrate a clear pattern of need satisfaction and how those needs helped predict course and instructor ratings. Given

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SDT's succinctness and its history of demonstrating need satisfaction (Reis, Sheldon, Ryan, Gable, & Roscoe, 2000; Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser, 2000) as a prerequisite to the positive rating of an experience, these well-defined needs might be better and clearer way of explaining what students need from a course and from an instructor. Finally, we demonstrate that teachers can look beyond course size and grading policies to find the true measure of their teaching effectiveness. Students, regardless of how much they might obsess over their grade-point average, feel a need to learn and a need to be effective in their environment. In many cases, students enter courses primed to learn and grow, hoping to gain a sense of competence in their environment. This study shows that by allowing students to learn in their own way, by providing them with the tools to succeed and by removing authoritarian barriers, instructors will have given their students an education experience that the students will appreciate.

This study has several limitations. First, we did not attempt to measure learning or intrinsic motivation. According to SDT, by satiating the three basic psychological needs, students will begin to learn for learning's sake. They will work from intrinsic motivation and learning will become a part of their lives. While this study did not measure intrinsic motivation or learning, it is clear this study has laid the groundwork for future research in that area.

Second, while we did control for several variables, it is unclear if all confounds have been unearthed in this study. Granted, the largest discussion in education literature pertains to how well course evaluations measure the instructor. While some have argued that students will gladly rate instructors well for the promise of a higher grade, others have maintained that students know what makes for a good educational experience and will rate it accordingly. We believe that by controlling for grade and class size, we have adequately demonstrated that the needs outlined in SDT are worthy predictors of course and instructor ratings. Still, we remain open to the possibility that other variables might surface through other research.

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Despite these limitations, we believe this study clearly demonstrates the importance of addressing the basic psychological needs outlined in SDT when undertaking an educational experience. By fulfilling these needs for a student, an instructor allows him or her to become a lifelong learner, which is an obvious goal for all great educators.

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Table 1: Descriptive statistics for instructor ratings, course ratings and need satisfaction variables.

Statistics

		Teacher rating	Course rating	Auto	Comp	Relate	Size of class	Grade received
N	Valid	268	268	268	268	268	268	268
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		4.0317	3.9963	3.4706	3.6141	3.9714	3.59	4.19
Std. Deviation		1.1359	1.1075	1.1083	1.0438	.9098	1.32	.88
Skewness		-1.151	-1.080	-.507	-.645	-.764	-.187	-1.138
Std. Error of Skewness		.149	.149	.149	.149	.149	.149	.149
Kurtosis		.450	.392	-.520	-.316	-.067	-1.545	1.274
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.297	.297	.297	.297	.297	.297	.297

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Table 2: Coefficients for regressions predicting instructor ratings

Model		Unstand. Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standard Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2.919	.815		3.580	.000
	Gender	-9.889E-03	.134	-.004	-.074	.941
	Age	-3.065E-02	.031	-.059	-.996	.320
	Size of class	-1.677E-02	.052	-.019	-.323	.747
	Grade received	.430	.077	.333	5.558	.000
	Autonomy					
	Competence					
	Relatedness					
2	(Constant)	.154	.659		.233	.816
	Gender	-.190	.101	-.083	-1.885	.061
	Age	-2.070E-02	.023	-.040	-.892	.373
	Size of class	.148	.042	.172	3.506	.001
	Grade received	.152	.061	.118	2.485	.014
	Autonomy	.228	.067	.223	3.425	.001
	Competence	.452	.058	.415	7.745	.000
	Relatedness	.250	.081	.200	3.096	.002

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Table 3: Coefficients for regressions predicting instructor ratings

Model		Unstandard. Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standard. Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2.723	.793		3.435	.001
	Gender	.208	.130	.094	1.595	.112
	Age	-2.942E-02	.030	-.058	-.983	.327
	Size of class	-2.510E-02	.051	-.030	-.497	.620
	Grade received	.389	.075	.309	5.175	.000
	Autonomy					
	Competence					
	Relatedness					
2	(Constant)	.375	.590		.636	.526
	Gender	3.295E-02	.090	.015	.365	.715
	Age	-2.960E-02	.021	-.059	-1.424	.156
	Size of class	.113	.038	.135	3.001	.003
	Grade received	.116	.055	.092	2.105	.036
	Autonomy	.213	.060	.213	3.571	.000
	Competence	.604	.052	.569	11.561	.000
	Relatedness	8.752E-02	.072	.072	1.212	.227

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EFF-089 (1/2003)